

DISCARDED  
WIDENER UNIVERSITY

PENNSYLVANIA MILITARY  
LIBRARY





Everyman, I will go with thee, and be thy guide,  
In thy most need to go by thy side.

This is No. 314 of Everyman's Library. A list of authors and their works in this series will be found at the end of this volume. The publishers will be pleased to send freely to all applicants a separate, annotated list of the Library.

J. M. DENT & SONS LIMITED  
10-13 BEDFORD STREET LONDON W.C.2

E. P. DUTTON & CO. INC.  
286-302 FOURTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK

EVERYMAN'S LIBRARY  
EDITED BY ERNEST RHYS

TRAVEL

HAKLUYT'S VOYAGES  
INTRODUCTION BY JOHN MASEFIELD  
IN 8 VOLS. VOL. 4

RICHARD HAKLUYT, born in 1552. Took Holy orders and in 1593 became Archdeacon of Westminster. Died in 1616 and buried in Westminster Abbey.

# VOYAGES

VOLUME FOUR



RICHARD HAKLUYT

LONDON: J. M. DENT & SONS LTD.  
NEW YORK: E. P. DUTTON & CO. INC.



4  
12  
13  
All rights reserved  
Made in Great Britain  
at The Temple Press Letchworth  
and decorated by Eric Ravilious  
for

J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd.

Aldine House Bedford St. London

Toronto . Vancouver

Melbourne . Wellington

First Published in this Edition 1907

Reprinted 1926

G240

H156

v. 4

2629

## CONTENTS.

THE PRINCIPALL NAVIGATIONS OF THE ENGLISH NATION:	PAGE
A description of a voyage to Constantinople and Syria begun the 21 of March, 1593, and ended the ninth of August 1595: wherein is shewed the manner of delivering the second present, by M. Edward Barton her Majesties ambassadour, which was sent from her Majestie to Sultan Murad Can, the Emperour of Turkie, . . . . .	1
A letter written by the most high and mighty Empresse the wife of the Grand Signor Sultan Murad Can to her most sacred Majesty of England, Anno 1594, . . . . .	18
The voyage of Macham the first discoverer of the Isle of Madera, in the yeere 1344, . . . . .	20
A Note concerning the ayde and assistance given to king John the first of Portugale, by certaine English merchants, for the winning of Ceut in Barbary, Anno 1415, . . . . .	21
The Ambassage of John the second, king of Portugale to Edward the 4. king of England, to stay John Tintam, and William Fabian Englishmen, preparing for a voyage to Guinea, Anno 1481, . . . . .	21
A briefe note concerning an ancient trade of English marchants to the Canarie Isles, Anno 1526, . . . . .	22
A description of the Canarie Islands, with their strange fruits and commodities, . . . . .	23
The first voyage to Barbary, Anno 1551, . . . . .	32
The second voyage to Barbary, Anno 1552, . . . . .	33
The voyage of M. Thomas Windam to Guinea and the kingdom of Benin, Anno 1553, . . . . .	35
The voyage of M. John Lok to Guinea, Anno 1544, . . . . .	47
The first voyage of Master William Towrson marchant of London to Guinea, in the yeere of our Lord, 1555, . . . . .	66
The second voyage M. William Towrson to Guinea and the castle of Mina. An. 1556, . . . . .	95

THE PRINCIPALL NAVIGATIONS—*Continued.*

PAGE

The third voyage of the sayd M. William Towrson to the coast of Guinea and the river of Sestos, Anno 1557, . . . . .	III
The commodities and wares that are most desired in Guinea, betwixt Sierra Leona, and the furthest place of the Mina, . . . . .	129
Certaine articles of remembrance delivered to M. John Lok, touching a voyage to Guinea, Anno 1561, . . . . .	130
A letter of M. John Lok to the worshipfull company of marchants adventurers of Guinea, Anno 1561, . . . . .	131
The relation of one William Rutter concerning a voyage set out to Guinea, Anno 1562. Described also in verse by Robert Baker, . . . . .	133
A meeting at Sir William Gerards house for the setting foorth of a voyage to Guinea, with the Minion of the Queenes, The John Baptist of London, and the Merline of M. Gonson, Anno 1564, . . . . .	137
A relation of the successe of the same voyage, taken out of a voyage of Sir John Haukins to the West Indies, . . . . .	137
The voyage of M. George Fenner to Guinea and to the Isles of Capo Verde, An. 1566, . . . . .	139
The voyage and ambassage of Master Edmond Hogan to the Emperour of Marocco, Anno 1577, . . . . .	156
The voyage of Thomas Stukeley into Barbary, 1578, . . . . .	163
Certaine reports of the mighty kingdome of China delivered by Portugales which were there imprisoned, . . . . .	163
A discourse of the Isle of Japan, and of other Isles in the East Ocean, etc., . . . . .	191
An excellent description of the kingdome of China, and of the estate and government thereof, . . . . .	209
The voyage of Thomas Stevens about the Cape of Buona Esperanza unto Goa in the East India, Anno 1579, . . . . .	233
A briefe relation of the great magnificence and rich trafficke of the kingdom of Pegu, beyond the East India, . . . . .	240
The memorable voyage of M. James Lancaster about the Cape of Buona Esperanza, along the Easterne coast of Africa, beyond Cape Comori, as far as the maine land of Malacca, and from thence home againe, begun in the yeere 1591, . . . . .	242
Certaine remembrances of a voyage intended to Brasil, and to the river of Plate, but miserably overthrowen neere Rio grande in Guinea, in the yeere 1583, . . . . .	259

The escape of the Primrose, a ship of London, from before the town of Bilbao in Biscay, and the taking of the Corrigidor, Anno 1585, . . . . .	263
The king of Spaines Commission for the generall imbarment or arrest of the English &c. Anno 1585, . . . . .	266
The Letters patents granted by her Majestie to certaine noble-men and merchants of London, for a trade to Barbary, Anno 1585, . . . . .	268
The voyage and ambassage of Master Henry Roberts to Mully Hamet Emperour of Marocco, Anno 1585, . . . . .	273
An edict from the Emperour of Marocco in favour of all Englishmen trading throughout his dominions, Anno 1587, . . . . .	275
A letter of the sayd emperour written to the Erle of Leicester, in the yeare 1587, . . . . .	276
A letter of the Queenes Majestie written to the emperour of Marocco, in the yere 1587, . . . . .	277
The voyage made by two of sir Walter Raleghs Pinasses called The Serpent and The Mary Spark of Plimouth to the Azores : which tooke the governour of the Isle of S. Michael, and Pedro Sarmiento governour of the Streights of Magellan in the yere 1586, . . . . .	278
The voyage of Sir Francis Drake to Cadiz, and the memorable exploits and services performed by him as well there as at diverse other places upon the coast of Spaine and Portugale, and his taking of the great East Indian Carak called The Sant Philip, neere the Isle of S. Michael, Anno 1587. . . . .	281
A patent graunted to certaine merchants of Exceter, and others of the West parts, and of London, for a trade to the rivers of Senega and Gambra in Guinea, Anno 1588, . . . . .	285
A voyage to Benin beyond the countrey of Guinea made by Master James Welsh, who set foorth in the yeere 1588, . . . . .	291
A relation concerning a voyage set foorth by M. John Newton, and M. John Bird, merchants of London, to the kingdome and citie of Benin, written by Antony Ingram, An. 1588, . . . . .	298
The second voyage made by M. James Welsh to Benin in Africa, An. 1590, . . . . .	300
The voyage to Spaine and Portugale written (as it is thought) by Colonell Anthonie Wingfield, An. 1589, . . . . .	306
The voyage of the Right honourable the Earle of Cumber-land to the Azores, in the yeere 1589, . . . . .	355

THE PRINCIPALL NAVIGATIONS—*Continued.*

PAGE

A fight performed by ten marchants ships of London against 12 Spanish gallies, in the Streit of Gibraltar. An. 1590, . . . . .	380
The valiant fight performed in the Streit of Gibraltar by the Centurion of London, against five Spanish gallies, An. 1591, . . . . .	383



# THE PRINCIPALL NAVIGATIONS OF THE ENGLISH NATION

to the Worshipfull and' his very loving Uncle M.  
Rowland Hewish Esquier, at Sand in Devonshire.

R, considering the goodnesse of your Nature which is  
prount kindly to accept from a friend, even of meane  
things being given with a good heart, I have presumed  
to trouble you with the reading of this rude discourse of  
my travailes into Turkie; and of the deliverie of the  
present with such other occurrents as there happened  
worthie the observation: of all which proceedings I was  
eye-witnesse, it pleasing the Ambassadors to take mee  
with him to the Grand Signior. If for lacke of time  
I put it in order I have not performed it so well as it  
ought, I crave pardon, assuring you that to my knowledge  
I have not missed in the trueth of any thing. If you aske  
mee what in my travels I have learned, I answer as a  
noble man of France did to the like demaund, Hoc unum  
dici, mundi contemptum: and so concluding with the  
wise man in the booke of the Preacher, that all is vanitie,  
and one thing onely is necessarie, I take my leave and  
commit you to the Almighty. From London the 16.  
March 1597.

Your loving Nephew  
Richard Wrag.

A description of a Voiage to Constantinople and Syria,  
begun the 21. of March 1593. and ended the 9. of  
August, 1595. wherein is shewed the order of delivering  
the second Present by Master Edward Barton her  
majesties Ambassador, which was sent from her  
Majestie to Sultan Murad Can, Emperour of Turkie.  
We set saile in the Ascension of London, a new shippe  
very well appointed, of two hundred and three score

tunnes (whereof was master one William Broadbanke, a provident and skilfull man in his facultie) from Gravesend the one and twentie of March 1593. And upon the eight of Aprill folowing wee passed the streights of Gibraltar, and with a small Westernne gale, the 24. of the same, we arrived at Zante an Iland under the Venetians. The fourth of May wee departed, and the one and twentie wee arrived at Alexandretta in Cilicia in the very bottome of the Mediterrane sea, a roade some 25. miles distant from Antioch, where our marchants land their goods to bee sent for Aleppo. From thence wee set saile the fift of June, and by contrary windes were driven upon the coast of Caramania into a road neere a litle Iland where a castle standeth, called Castle Rosso, some thirtie leagues to the Eastwards of the Rhodes, where after long search for fresh water, we could finde none, until certaine poore Greekes of the Iland brought us to a well where we had 5 or 6 tuns. That part of the country next the sea is very barren & full of mountains, yet found we there an olde tombe of marble, with an epitaph of an ancient Greeke character, by antiquity neere worne out and past reading; which to the beholders seemed a monument of the greatnesse of the Grecian monarchy. From thence we went to the Rhodes, and by contrary windes were driven into a port of Candy, called Sittia: this Iland is under the Venetians, who have there 600 souldiers, beside certaine Greeks, continually in pay. Here with contrary winds we stayed six weeks, and in the end, having the winde prosperous, we sailed by Nicaria, Pharos, Delos, and Andros, with sight of many other Ilands in the Archipelago, and arrived at the two castles in Hellespont the 24 of August. Within few dayes after we came to Galipoli some thirty miles from this place, where foure of us tooke a Parma or boat of that place, with two watermen, which rowed us along the Thracian shore to Constantinople, which sometime sailing and sometime rowing, in foure dayes they performed. The first of September we arrived at the famous port of the Grand Signior, where we were not a little welcome to M. Edward Barton untill then her Majesties Agent, who (with many other great persons) had for many dayes expected the present. Five or sixe dayes after the shippe arrived neere the Seven towers, which is a very strong hold, and so called of so many turrets, which it hath, standing neere

the sea side, being the first part of the city that we came unto. Heere the Agent appointed the master of the ascension to stay with the shippe untill a fitte winde and opportunity served to bring her about the Seraglio to salute the Grand Signior in his moskyta or church: for you shall understand that he hath built one neere the end of his Seraglio or pallace adjoyning to the Sea side; whereunto twise or thrise a weeke hee resorteth to performe such religious rites as their law requireth: where hee being within few dayes after, our shippe set out in their best maner with flagges, streamers and pendants of divers coloured silke, with all the mariners, together with most of the Ambassadors men, having the winde faire, and came within two cables length of this his moskita, where (hee to his great content beholding the shippe in such bravery) they discharged first two volies of small shot, and then all the great ordinance twise over, there being seven and twentie or eight and twentie pieces in the ship. Which performed, he appointed the Mustangi-Bassa or captaine of the great and spacious garden or parke, to give our men thanks, with request that some other day they would shew him the like sporte when hee would have the Sultana or Empresse a beholder thereof, which few dayes after at the shippes going to the custome-house they performed.

The grand Signiors salutation thus ended, the master brought the ship to an anker at Rapamat neere the Ambassadors house, where hee likewise saluted him with all his great ordinance once over, and where he landed the Present, the deliverie whereof for a time was staied: the cause of which staie it shall neither be dishonorable for our nation, or that woorthie man the ambassador to shew you. At the departure of Sinan Bassa the chiefe Vizir, and our ambassadors great friend toward the Emperres of Hungarie there was another Bassa appointed in his place, a churlish and harsh natured man, who upon occasion of certaine Genouezes, escaping out of the castles standing toward the Euxine Sea, nowe called the blacke sea, there imprisoned, apprehended and threatened to execute one of our Englishmen called John Field, for that hee was taken thereabouts, and knowen not many dayes before to have brought a letter to one of them: upon the soliciting of whose libertie there felle a jarre betweene the Bassa (being now chiefe Vizir) and our ambassador,

and in choler he gave her majesties ambassador such words, as without sustaining some great indignitie hee could not put up. Whereupon after the arrivall of the Present, he made an Arz, that is, a bill of Complaint to the grand Signior against him, the maner in exhibiting whereof is thus performed.

The plaintifes expect the grand Signiors going abroad from his pallace, either to Santa Sophia or to his church by the sea side, whither, with a Perma (that is one of their usuall whirries) they approach within some two or three score yards, where the plaintife standeth up, and holdeth his petition over his forehead in sight of the grand Signior (for his church is open to the Sea side) the rest sitting still in the boat, who appointeth one of his Dwarfes to receive them, and to bring them to him. A Dwarfes, one of the Ambassadors favorites, so soone as he was discerned, beckned him to the shore side, tooke his Arz, and with speed caried it to the grand Signior. Now the effect of it was this; that except his highnesse would redresse this so great an indignitie, which the Vizir his slave had offered him and her majestie in his person, he was purposed to detaine the Present untill such time as he might by letters over-land from her majestie bee certified, whither she would put up so great an injurie as it was. Whereupon he presently returned answere requesting the ambassador within an houre after to goe to the Dovan of the Vizir, unto whom himselfe of his charge would send a gowne of cloth of gold, and commaund him publikely to put it upon him, and with kind entertainment to embrace him in signe of reconciliation. Whereupon our ambassador returning home, tooke his horse, accompanied with his men, and came to the Vizirs court, where, according to the grand Signiors command, he with all shew of kindnesse embraced the ambassador, and with curteous speeches reconciled himselfe, and with his own hands put the gowne of cloth of gold upon his backe. Which done, hee with his attendants returned home, to the no small admiration of all Christians that heard of it, especially of the French and Venetian ambassadors, who never in the like case against the second person of the Turkish Empire durst have attempted so bold an enterprise with hope of so friendly audience, and with so speedie redresse. This reconciliation with the great Vizir thus made, the ambassador prepared himselfe for the

liverie of the Present, which upon the 7 of October 1593. in this maner he performed.

The Ascension with her flags and streamers, as afore-said, repaired nigh unto the place where the ambassador should land to go up to the Seraglio: for you must understand that all Christian ambassadors have their dwelling in Pera where most Christians abide, from which place, except you would go 4 or 5 miles about, you cannot land go to Constantinople, whereas by Sea it is little more then the Thames. Our Ambassador likewise was apparelled in a sute of cloth of silver, with an upper gowne of cloth of gold, accompanied with 7 gentlemen in costly sutes of Sattin, with 30 other of his men very well apparelled, and all in one liverie of sad French russet both gownes, at his house tooke boate: at whose landing the ship discharged all her ordinance, where likewise attended 2 Bassas, with 40 or 50 Chausers to accompany the ambassador to the court, & also horses for the ambassador & his gentlemen, very richly furnished, with Turkish servants attendant to take the horses when they should meet. The ambassador thus honorably accompanied, the Chausers foremost, next his men on foote all going by two and two, himselfe last with his Chause and Drugaman or interpreter, and 4 Janissaries, which he doeth usually detain in his house to accompany him continually abroad, came to the Seraglio about an English mile from the water side, where first hee passed a great gate into a large court (much like the space before White hall gate) where he with his gentlemen alighted and left their horses. From hence they passed into an other stately court, being about 6 score in bredth, and some 10 score yards long, with many trees in it: where all the court was with great pompe set in order to entertaine our ambassador. Upon the right hand all the length of the court was a gallerie arched over, and borne up with stone pillars, much like the Roiall Exchange, where stood most of his guard in ranks from the one end to the other in costly aray, with round head pieces on their heads of mettall and gilt over, with a great plume of fethers somewhat like a long brush standing up before. On the other hand stood the Cappagies or porters, and the Chausers. All these courtiers being about the number of 2000. (as I might well gesse) most of them apparelled in cloth of gold, silver, velvet, sattin and scarlet, did together with



bowing their bodies, laying their hands upon their breasts in curteous maner of salutation, entertain the Ambassador: who likewise passing between them, & turning himself sometime to the right hand and sometime to the left, answered them with the like. As he thus passed along, certaine Chauses conducted him, to the Dovan, which is the seat of Justice, where certaine dayes of the weeke the grand Vizir, with the other Vizirs, the Cadi-lesker or lord chiefe Justice, & the Mufti or high priest do sit to determine upon such causes as be brought before them, which place is upon the left side of this great court, whither the ambassador with his gentlemen came, where hee found the Vizir thus accompanied as aforesayd, who with great shew of kindnes received him: and after receipt of her majesties letters, & conference had of the Present, of her majesties health, of the state of England, and such other matters as concerned our peaceable traffique in those parts: dinner being prepared was by many of ye Courtiers brought into another inner roome next adjoining, which consisted of an hundred dishes or therabouts, most boiled & rosted, where the ambassador accompanied w<sup>th</sup> the Vizirs went to dinner, his gentlemen likewise with the rest of his men having a dinner with the like varietie prepared upon ye same side of the court, by themselves sate downe to their meat, 40 or 50 Chauses standing at the upper end attending upon the gentlemen to see them served in good order; their drinke was water mingled with rose water & sugar brought in a Luthro (that is a goates skinne) which a man carieth at his backe, and under his arme letteth it run out at a spout into cups as men wil call for it. The dinner thus with good order brought in, and for halfe an houre with great sobrietie and silence performed, was not so orderly taken up; for certaine Moglans officers of the kitchin (like her majesties blacke guard) came in disordered maner and tooke away the dishes, and he whose hungry eie one dish could not satisfie, turned two or three one into the other, and thus of a sudden was a cleane riddance made of all. The ambassador after dinner with his gentlemen, by certaine officers were placed at the upper ende upon the left side of the court, nere unto a great gate which gave entrance to a third court being but litle, paved with stone. In the midst whereof was a litle house built of marble, as I take it, within which sate the grand Signor, according to whose

commandement given there were gownes of cloth of gold brought out of the wardrope, and put upon the ambassador and 7 of his gentlemen, the ambassador himselfe having 2, one of gold, and the other of crimosin velvet, all the rest one a piece. Then certaine Cappagies had the Present, which was in trunks there ready, delivered them by the ambassadors men, it being 12 goodly pieces of gilt plate, 36 garments of fine English cloth of al colors, 20 garments of cloth of gold, 10 garments of sattin, 6 pieces of fine Holland, and certaine other things of good value; al which were caried round about the court, each man taking a piece, being in number very neere 100 parcels, and so 2 and 2 going round that all might see it, to the greater glory of the present, and of him to whom it was given: they went into the innermost court passing by the window of that roome, where the grand Signior sate, who, as it went by to be laid up in certaine roomes adjoining, tooke view of all. Presently after the present followed the ambassador with his gentlemen; at the gate of which court stode 20 or 30 Agaues which be eunuchs. Within the court yard were the Turkes Dwarfes and Dumb men, being most of them youths. At the doore of his roome stood the Bustangi-bassa, with another Bassa to lead the ambassador and his folowers to the grand Signior who sate in a chaire of estate, apparelled in a gowne of cloth of silver. The floore under his feete, which part was a foote higher then the rest, was covered with a carpet of green sattin embrodered most richly with silver, orient perles & great Turkeses; ye other part of the house was covered with a carpet of Carnation sattin imbrodered w<sup>t</sup> gold, none were in the roome with him, but a Bassa who stood next the wall over against him hanging down his head, & looking submissely upon the ground as all his subjects doe in his presence. The ambassador thus betwixt two which stood at the doore being led in, either of them taking an arme, kissed his hand, and so backward with his face to the Turke they brought him nigh the dore againe, where he stood untill they had likewise done so with all the rest of his gentlemen. Which ended, the ambassador, according as it is the custome when any present is delivered, made his three demaunds, such as he thought most expedient for her majesties honor, & the peaceable traffique of our nation into his dominions:

whereunto he answered in one word, Nolo, which is in Turkish as much as, it shal be done: for it is not the maner of the Turkish emperor familiarly to confer with any Christian ambassador, but he appointeth his Vizir in his person to graunt their demaunds if they be to his liking; as to our ambassador he granted all his demands, & gave order that his daily allowance for his house of mony, flesh, wood, & haie, should be augmented with halfe as much more as it had bene before. Hereupon the ambassador taking his leave, departed with his gentlemen the same way he came, the whole court saluting him as they did at his comming in; & comming to the second court to take our horses, after we were mounted, we staid halfe an houre, until the captain of the guard with 2000 horsmen at the least passed before, after whom folowed 40 or 50 Chauses next before the ambassador to accompany him to his house. And as before at his landing, so now at his taking boat, the ship discharged all her great ordinance, where arriving, he likewise had a great banquet prepared to entertaine those which came to bring him home. The pompe & solemnitie of the Present, with the day thus ended, he shortly after presented the Sultana or empresse who (by reason that she is mother to him which was heire to the crown Imperial) is had in far greater reverence then any of his other Queens or concubines. The Present sent her in her majesties name was a jewel of her majesties picture, set with some rubies and diamants, 3 great pieces of gilt plate, 10 garments of cloth of gold, a very fine case of glasse bottles silver & gilt, with 2 pieces of fine Holland, which so gratefully she accepted, as that she sent to know of the ambassador what present he thought she might return y<sup>t</sup> would most delight her majestie: who sent word that a sute of princely attire being after the Turkish fashion would for the rarenesse thereof be acceptable in England. Whereupon she sent an upper gowne of cloth of gold very rich, an under gowne of cloth of silver, and a girdle of Turkie worke, rich and faire, with a letter of gratification, which for the rarenesse of the stile, because you may be acquainted with it, I have at the ende of this discourse hereunto annexed, which letter and present, with one from the grand Signor, was sent by M. Edward Bushell, and M. William Aldridge over-land the 20 of March, who passed through Valachia and Mol-

davia, & so through Poland, where Michael prince of Valachia, and Aron Voivoda prince of Moldavia receiving letters from the ambassador, entertained them with all curtesie, through whose meanes by the great favour which his lordship had with the grand Signior, they had not long before both of them bene advanced to their princely dignities. Hee likewise presented Sigala the Admirall of the Seas, with Abrim Bassa, who married the great Turkes daughter, and all the other Vizirs with divers pieces of plate, fine English cloth & other costly things: the particulars whereof, to avoid tediousnesse, I omit. All the presents thus ended, the ship shooting ten pieces of ordinance at the Seraglio point, as a last farewell, departed on her journey for England the first of November, my selfe continuing in Constantinople untill the last of July after. This yere in the spring there was great preparation for the Hungarian wars; and the great Turke threatened to goe himselfe in person: but like Heliogabalus, his affections being more serviceable to Venus than to Mars, he stayed at home. Yet a great army was dispatched this yere; who, as they came out of Asia to goe for Hungary, did so pester the streets of Constantinople for the space of two moneths in the spring time, as scarce either Christian or Jew could without danger of losing his money passe up and downe the city. What insolencies, murders and robberies were committed not onely upon Christians but also upon Turks I omit to write, and I pray God in England the like may never be seene: and yet I could wish, that such amongst us as have enjoyed the Gospel with such great and admirable peace and prosperity under her Majesties government this forty yeeres, and have not all this time brought forth better fruits of obedience to God, and thankfulness to her Majesty, were there but a short time to beholde the miserable condition both of Christians and others living under such an infidell prince, who not onely are wrapped in most palpable & grosse ignorance of mind, but are cleane without the meanes of the true knowledge of God: I doubt not but the sight hereof (if they be not cleane void of grace) would stirre them up to more thankfulness to God, that ever they were borne in so happy a time, and under so wise and godly a prince professing the true religion of Christ.

The number of souldiours which went to the warres

of Hungary this yere were 470000, as by the particulars given by the Admirall to the Ambassadour hereunder doe appeare. Although all these were appointed and supposed to goe, yet the victories which the Christians in the spring had against the Turks strooke such a terroure in many of the Turkish souldiours, as by report divers upon the way thither left their Captaines and stole away.

The number of Turkish souldiers which were appointed to goe into Hungary against the Christian Emperour.  
May 1594.

SINAN Bassa generall, with the Sanjacke masould, that is, out of office, with the other Sanjacks in office or of degree, 40000.

Achmigi, that is, Adventurers, 50000.

The Agha or Captaine with his Janisaries, and his Giebegies, 20000.

The Beglerbeg of Græcia, with all his Sanjacks, 40000.

The company of Spaheis or horsemen, 10000.

The company of Silitari, 6000.

The company of Sagbulve and of Solbulve both together, 8000.

The Bassa of Belgrad,

The Bassa of Temiswar.

The Bassa of Bosna.

The Bassa of Buda.

The Sanjack of Gersech.

} 80000.

#### Out of Asia.

The Bassa of Caramania.

The Bassa of Laras.

The Bassa of Damasco.

The Bassa of Suas.

The Bassa of Van or Nan.

The Bassa of Usdrum.

Of Tartars there be about 100000.

} 120000.

Thus you may see that the great Turke maketh warre with no small numbers. And in anno 1597, when Su'tan Mahomet himselfe went in person into Hungary, if a man may beleieve reports, he had an army of 600000.

For the city of Constantinople you shall understand that it is matchable with any city in Europe, aswell in bignesse as for the pleasant situation thereof, and com-

modious traffike and bringing of all maner of necessary provision of victuals, and whatsoever els mans life for the sustentation thereof shall require, being seated upon a promontory, looking toward Pontus Euxinus upon the Northeast, and to Propontis on the Southwest, by which two seas by shipping is brought great store of all maner of victuals. The city it selfe in forme representeth a triangular figure, the sea washing the walles upon two sides thereof, the other side faceth the continent of Thracia; the grand Signiors seraglio standeth upon that point which looketh into the sea, being cut off from the city by a wall; so that ye wall of his pallace containeth in circuit about two English miles: the seven towers spoken of before stand at another corner, & Constantines olde pallace to the North at the third corner. The city hath a threefolde wall about it; the innermost very high, the next lower then that, and the third a countermure, and is in circuit about ten English miles: it hath foure and twenty gates: and when the empire was remooved out of the West into the East, it was enriched with many spoiles of olde Rome by Vespasian and other emperours, having many monuments and pillars in it worthy the observation; amongst the rest in the midst of Constantinople standeth one of white marble called Vespasians pillar, of 38 or 40 yards high, which hath from the base to the top proportions of men in armour fighting on horsebacke: it is likewise adorned with divers goodly buildings & stately Mesquitas, whereof the biggest is Sultan Solimans a great warriour, which lived in the time of Charles the fifth; but the fairest is Santa Sophia, which in the time of the Christian emperours was the chiefe cathedrall church, and is still in greatest account with the great Turke: it is built round like other Greekish churches, the pavements and walles be all of marble, it hath beneath 44 pillars of divers coloured marble of admirable heighth and bignes, which stand upon great round feet of brasse, much greater then the pillars, and of a great heighth, some ten yards distant from the wall: from which unto these pillars is a great gallery built, which goeth round about the church; and upon the outside of the gallery stand 66 marble pillars which beare up the round rooffe being the top of the church: it hath three pulpits or preaching places, and about 2000 lampes brought in by the Turke. Likewise upon one side in the top is the



picture of Christ with the 12 Apostles, but their faces are defaced, with two or three ancient tombs of Christians: to the West sticketh an arrow in the toppe of the church, which, as the Turks report, Sultan Mahomet shot when he first tooke the city. Neere adjoyning be two chapels of marble, where lie buried most of the emperours with their children & sultanas. The 16 of July, accompanied with some other of our nation we went by water to the Blacke sea, being 16 miles distant from Constantinople, the sea al the way thither being little broader then the Thames; both sides of the shore are beautified with faire & goodly buildings. At the mouth of this Bosphorus lieth a rocke some fourescore yards from the maine land, whereupon standeth a white marble pillar called Pompeys pillar, the shadow whereof was 23 foote long at nine of the clocke in the forenoone: over against it is a turret of stone upon the maine land 120 steps high, having a great glasse-lanthorne in the toppe foure yards in diamiter and three in heighth, with a great copper pan in the midst to holde oile, with twenty lights in it, and it serveth to give passage into this straight in the night to such ships as come from all parts of those seas to Constantinople: it is continually kept by a Turke, who to y<sup>t</sup> end hath pay of the grand Signior. And thus having spent eleven moneths in Constantinople, accompanied with a chause, & carying certaine mandates from the grand Signior to the Bassa of Aleppo for the kinde usage of our nation in those parts, the 30 of July I tooke passage in a Turkish carmosale or shippe bound for Sidon; and passing thorow Propontis, having Salimbria with Heraclia most pleasantly situated on the right hand, and Proconesus now called Marmora on the left, we came to Gallipoly, and so by Hellespont, betweene the two castles before named called Sestos and Abydos, famous for the passages made there both by Xerxes and great Alexander, the one into Thracia, the other into Asia, and so by the Sigeian Promontory, now called Cape Janitzary, at the mouth of Hellespont upon Asia side, where Troy stood, where are yet ruines of olde walles to be seene, with two hils rising in a piramidall forme, not unlikely to be the tombs of Achilles and Ajax. From thence we sailed along, having Tenedos and Lemnos on the right hand, and the Trojan fields on the left: at length we came to Mitylen and Sio long time inhabited by the Genoueses,

but now under the Turke. The Iland is beautified with goodly buildings and pleasant gardens, and aboundeth with fruits, wine, and the gum masticke. From thence sailing amongst the gulfe of Ephesus with Nicaria on the right hand, Samos and Smirna on the left, we came to Patmos, where S. John wrote the Revelation. The Iland is but small, not above five miles in compasse: the chiefe thing it yeeldeth is corn: it hath a port for shipping, and in it is a monastery of Greekish Caloieros. From thence by Cos (now called Lango) where Hipocrates was borne: & passing many other Ilands and rocks, we arrived at Rhodes, one of the strongest and fairest cities of the East: here we stayed three or foure dayes; and by reason of a By which went in the ship to Paphos in Cyprus, who used me with all kindnesse, I went about the city, and tooke the view of all: which city is still with all the houses and walles thereof maintained in the same order as they tooke it from the Rhodian knights. Over the doores of many of the houses, which be strongly built of stone, do remaine undefaced, the armes of England, France, Spaine, and many other Christian knights, as though the Turkes in the view thereof gloried in the taking of all Christendome, whose armes there they beholde. From thence we sailed to Paphos an olde ruinous towne standing upon the Westernne part of Cyprus, where S. Paul in the Acts converted the governor. Departing hence, we came to Sidon, by the Turks called Saytosa, within tenne or twelve miles of the place where Tirus stood, which now being eaten in by the sea, is, as Ezekiel prophesied, a place for the spreading out of a net. Sidon is situated in a small bay at the foot of mount Libanus, upon the side of an hill looking to the North: it is walled about, with a castle nigh to the sea, and one toward the land which is ruined, but the walle thereof standeth. Some halfe mile up toward the mountaine be certaine ruines of buildings, with marble pillars, remaining: heere for three dayes we were kindly entertained of the captaine of the castle: and in a small barke we sailed from hence along the shore of Tripoli, & so to Alexandretta, where the 24 of August we arrived. From thence with a Venetian caravan we went by land to Aleppo, passing by Antioch, which is seated upon the side of an hill, whose walles still stand with 360 turrets upon them, and neere a very great plaine which beareth



the name of the city, thorow which runneth the river Orontes, in Scripture called Farfar. In Aleppo I stayed untill February following; in this city, as at a mart, meete many nations out of Asia with the people of Europe, having continuall traffike and interchangeable course of marchandise one with another: the state and trade of which place, because it is so well knowen to most of our nation I omitte to write of. The 27 of February I departed from Aleppo, and the fifth of March imbarked my selfe at Alexandretta in a great ship of Venice called the Nana Ferra, to come for England. The 14 we put into Salino in Cyprus, where the ship staying many dayes to lade cotton wooll, and other commodities, in the meane time accompanied with M. William Barret my countrey man, the master of the ship a Greeke, and others we tooke occasion to see Nicosia, the chiefe city of this Iland, which was some twenty miles from this place, which is situated at the foot of an hill: to the East is a great plaine, extending it selfe in a great length from the North to the South: it is walled about, but of no such strength as Famagusta (another city in this Iland neere the Sea side) whose walles are cut out of the maine rocke. In this city be many sumptuous and goodly buildings of stone, but uninhabited; the cause whereof doth give me just occasion to shew you of a rare judgement of God upon the owners sometime of these houses, as I was credibly informed by a Cipriot a marchant of good wealth in this city. Before it came in subjection to the Turks, while it was under the Venetians, there were many barons and noble men of the Cipriots, who partly by usurping more superiority over the common people then they ought, and partly through their great revenues which yeerely came in by their cotton wooll and wines, grew so insolent and proud, and withall so impiously wicked, as that they would at their pleasure command both the wives and children of their poore tenants to serve their uncleane lusts, & holding them in such slavery as though they had beene no better then dogges, would wage them against a grayhound or spaniell, and he who woon the wager should ever after holde them as his proper goods and chattels, to do with them as he listed, being Christians aswell as themselves, if they may deserve so good a name. As they behaved themselves most unchristianly toward their brethren, so

and much more ungodly (which I should have put in the first place) did they towards God: for as though they were too great, standing on foot or kneeling to serve God, they would come riding on horsebacke into the church to heare their masse: which church now is made a publike basistane or market place for the Turkes to sell commodities in: but beholde the judgement of the righteous God, who payeth the sinner measure for measure. The Turkes the yeere before the overthrowe given them at Lepanto by Don John tooke Cyprus. These mighty Nimrods fled some into holes & some into mountaines to hide themselves; whereupon the Turkes made generall proclamation, that if they would all come in and yeeld themselves, they would restore them to their former revenues and dignities: who not mistrusting the mischievous pretense of the Turkes, assembled together to make themselves known; whom after the Turkes had in possession, they (as the Lords executioners) put them with their wives and children all to the sword, pretending thereby to cut of all future rebellion, so that at this day is not one of the noble race known alive in the Iland, onely two or three remaine in Venice but of litle wealth, which in the time of the warres escaped. After we had stayed in this Iland some thirty dayes, we set saile in the foresayd shippe being about the burthen of 900 tunnes, having in her passengers of divers nations, as Tartars, Persians, Jewes, and sundry Christians. Amongst all which I had often conference with a Jew, who by reason of his many yeeres education at Safet a place in Judea neere Jerusalem, where they study the Rabbines with some other arts as they thinke good, as also for his travels into Persia and Ormus, he seemed to be of good experience in matters abroad, who related unto me such conference as he had with a Baniane at Ormus, being one of the Indians inhabiting the countrey of Cambaia. This Baniane being a Gentile had skill in Astronomie, as many of that nation have, who by his books written in his owne tongue and Characters, could tell the time of Eclipses both of Sunne and Moone, with the Change and Full, and by judgement in Astrologie gave answer to any question demanded. Being asked concerning his opinion in religion, what he thought of God? He made answer, that they held no other god but the sun, (to which planet they pray both at the rising

and setting) as I have seene sundry doe in Aleppo: his reason was drawn from the effects which it worketh in giving light to the moone & other starres, and causing all things to grow and encrease upon the earth: answere was made, that it did moove with the rest as the wheelles of a clocke, and therefore of force must have a moover. Likewise in the Eclipse being darkened it is manifestly proved that it is not god, for God is altogether goodnesse and brightnesse, which can neither be darkened nor receive detriment or hurt: but the Sun receiveth both in the Eclipse, as it is apparant: to which hee could not answere; but so they had received from their ancestors, that it was without beginning or ende, as in any Orbicular or round body neither beginning or end could be found. He likewise sayd, that there were other Gentiles in ye Indies which worship the moone as chiefe, and their reason is. The moone when she riseth goeth with thousands of starres accompanied like a king, and therefore is chiefe: but the Sunne goeth alone, and therefore not so great. Against whom the Banianes reason, that it is not true, because the Moone and starres receive their light from the Sunne, neither doth the Sunne vouchsafe them his company but when he list, and therefore like a mighty prince goeth alone, yet they acknowledge the Moone as Queene or Viceroy. Law they hold none, but onely seven precepts which they say were given them from their father Noe, not knowing Abraham or any other. First, to honor father and mother; secondly, not to steale; thirdly not to commit adultery; fourthly not to kill any thing living; fifthly, not to eate any thing living; sixtly, not to cut their haire; seventhly, to go barefoot in their churches. These they hold most strictly, & by no meanes will breake them: but he that breaketh one is punished with twenty stripes; but for the greatest fault they will kill none, neither by a short death nor a long, onely he is kept some time in prison with very little meat, and hath at the most not above twenty or five & twenty stripes. In the yere they have 16 feasts, and then they go to their church, where is pictured in a broad table the Sun, as we use to paint it, the face of a man with beames round about, not having any thing els in it. At their feast they spot their faces in divers parts with saffron all yellow, and so walke up and downe the streets; and this they doe as a custome. They hold,

there shalbe a resurrection, and all shall come to judgement, but the account shalbe most streight, insomuch that but one of 10000 shalbe received to favor, and those shall live againe in this world in great happinesse: the rest shalbe tormented. And because they will escape this judgement, when any man dieth, he and his wife be both burnt together even to ashes, and then they are throwen into a river, and so dispersed as though they had never bene. If the wife will not burne with her dead husband, she is holden ever after as a whore. And by this meanes they hope to escape the judgement to come. As for the soule, that goeth to the place from whence it came, but where the place is they know not. That the body should not be made againe they reason w<sup>t</sup> the phylosophers, saying, that of nothing nothing can be made (not knowing that God made the whole world and their god the Sun of nothing) but beholding the course of nature, that nothing is made but by a meanes, as by the seed of a man is made another, and by corne cast into the ground there commeth up new corne: so, say they, man cannot be made except some part of him be left, and therefore they burne the whole: for if he were buried in the earth, they say there is a small bone in the necke which would never be consumed: or if he were eaten by a beast, that bone would not consume, but of that bone would come another man; and then the soule being restored againe, he should come into judgement, whereas now, the body being destroyed, the soule shall not be judged: for their opinion is, that both body and soule must be united together, as they have sinned together, to receive judgement; and therefore the soule alone cannot. Their seven precepts which they keepe so strictly are not for any hope of reward they have after this life, but onely that they may be blessed in this world, for they thinke that he which breaketh them shall have ill successe in all his businesse.

They say, the three chiefe religions in the world be of the Christians, Jewes, & Turks, & yet but one of them true: but being in doubt which is the truest of the three, they will be of none: for they hold that all these three shall be judged, and but few of them which be of the true shall be saved, the examination shall be so straight; and therefore, as I have sayd before, to prevent this judgement, they burne their bodies to ashes. They say,

these three religions have too many precepts to keepe them all wel, & therfore wonderful hard it wil be to make account, because so few doe observe all their religion aright. And thus passing the time for the space of three moneths in this sea voyage, we arrived at Venice the tenth of June: and after I had seene Padua, with other English men, I came the ordinary way over the Alpes, by Augusta, Noremberg, and so for England; where to the praise of God I safely arrived the ninth of August 1595.

A letter written by the most high and mighty Empresse the wife of the Grand Signior Sultan Murad Can to the Queenes Majesty of England, in the yeere of our Lord, 1594.

LET the beginning of our discourse be a perfect writing in the fouré parts of the world, in the name of him which hath indifferently created such infinite numbers of creatures, which had neither soule nor body, and of him which mooveth the nine heavens, and stablisseth the earth seven times one above another, which is Lord and king without any deputy, who hath no comparison to his creation and worke, and is one inestimable, worshipped without all comparison, the most high God, the creator, which hath nothing like unto him, according as he is described by the Prophets, to whose power no man can attaine, and whose absolute perfection no man may controll; and that omnipotent creatour and fellow-worker, to whose Majesty all the Prophets submit themselves, among whom the greatest, and which hath obtained greatest favour, the garden of Paradise, the beame of the Sunne, the beloved of the most high God is Mahomet Mustaffa, to whom and to his adherents and followers be perpetuall peace, to whose fragrant sepulture all honour is performed. He which is emperour of the seven climats and of the fouré parts of the world, the invincible king of Græcia, Agiamia, Hungaria, Tartaria, Valachia, Rossia, Turchia, Arabia, Bagdet, Caramania, Abessis, Giouasir, Sirvan, Barbaria, Alger, Franchia, Corvacia, Belgrade, &c. alwayes most happy, and possessour of the crowne from twelve of his ancestours; and of the seed of Adam, at this present emperour, the sonne of an emperour, preserved by the divine providence, a king woorthy of all glory and honour, Sultan Murad, whose

forces the Lord God alwayes increase, and father of him to whom the imperiall crowne is to descend, the paradise and woonderfull tall cypresse, worthy of the royall throne, and true heire of the imperiall authority, most woorthy Mehemet Can, the sonne of Sultan Murad Can, whose enterprises God vouchsafe to accomplish, and to prolong his happy dayes: on the behalfe of whose mother this present letter is written to the most gracious and most glorious, the wisest among women, and chosen among those which triumph under the standard of Jesus Christ, the most mighty and most rich governour, and most rare among womankind in the world, the most gracious Queene of England, which follow the steps of the virgine Mary, whose end be prosperous and perfect, according to your hearts desire. I send your Majesty so honorable and sweet a salutation of peace, that al the flocke of Nightingales with their melody cannot attaine to ye like, much lesse this simple letter of mine. The singular love which we have conceived one toward the other is like to a garden of pleasant birds: and the Lord God vouchsafe to save and keepe you, and send your Majesty an happy end both in this world and in the world to come. After the arrivall of your honourable presents from the Court of your Majesty, your Highnesse shall understand that they came in such a season that every minute ministred occasion of long consolation by reason of the comming of your Majesties Ambassadour to the triumphant Court of the Emperour, to our so great contentment as we could possibly wish, who brought a letter from your Majestie, which with great honour was presented unto us by our eunuks, the paper whereof did smell most fragrantly of camfor and ambargriese, and the incke of perfect muske; the contents whereof we have heard very attentively from point to point. I thinke it therefore expedient, that, according to our mutuall affection, in any thing whatsoever may concerne the countreys which are subject to your Majesty, I never faile, having information given unto me, in whatsoever occasion shall be ministred, to gratifie your Majesty to my power in any reasonable and convenient matter, that all your subjects businesses and affaires may have a wished and happy end. For I will alwayes be a sollicitour to the most mighty Emperour for your Majesties affaires, that your Majesty at all times may be fully satisfied. Peace be



to your Majesty, and to all such as follow rightly the way of God. Written the first day of the Moone of Rabie Livol in the yere of the Prophet, 1002.

The voyage of Macham an English man, wherein he first of any man discovered the Iland of Madera, recorded verbatim in the Portugall history, written by Antonio Galvano.

In the yeere 1344, King Peter the fourth of that name reigning in Aragon, the Chronicles of his age write that about this time the Iland of Madera, standing in 32 degrees, was discovered by an English man, which was named Macham, who sailing out of England into Spaine, with a woman that he had stollen, arrived by tempest in that Iland, and did cast anker in that haven or bay, which now is called Machico after the name of Macham. And because his lover was sea-sicke, he went on land with some of his company, and the shippe with a good winde made saile away, and the woman died for thought. Macham, which loved her dearely, built a chapell, or hermitage, to bury her in, calling it by the name of Jesus, and caused his name and hers to be written or graven upon the stone of her tombe, and the occasion of their arrivall there. And afterward he ordeined a boat made of one tree (for there be trees of a great compasse about) and went to sea in it, with those men that he had, and were left behinde with him, and came upon the coast of Afrike, without saile or oare. And the Moores which saw it tooke it to be a marvellous thing, and presented him unto the king of that countrey for a woonder, and that king also sent him and his companions for a miracle unto the king of Castile.

In the yeere 1395, King Henry the third of that name reigning in Castile, the information which Macham gave of this Iland, and also the ship of his company, mooved many of France and Castile to go and discover it, and also the great Canaria, &c.

In the yeere 1417, King John the second reigning in Castile, and his mother Lady Katherine being Regent, one Monsieur Ruben of Bracamont, which was Admirall of France, demanding the conquest of the Ilands of the Canaries, with the title of King, for a kinsman of his named Monsieur John Betancourt, after that the Queene hath given him them, and holpen him, he departed from

Sivil with a good army. And they affirme also, that the principall cause which moved him to this, was to discover the Iland of Madera, which Macham had found, &c. *ibidem* pag. 2. of Anthonio Galvano.

This note following, concerning the ayde and assistance of the English Marchants, given to King John the first of Portugall, for the winning of Ceuta in Barbarie, which was the first occasion of all the Portugall discoveries, is taken out of Thomas Walsingham his Latine Chronicle. Anno 1415.

THIS yere John the first king of Portugall, being principally assisted by the helpe of the English Marchants, and Almaines, overcame the Moores in the dominion of the king of Barbary, putting many thousands of them to the sword, and he tooke their city which was very mighty, seated upon the sea, which is called Ceuta in their language.

The Ambassage which king John the second, king of Portugall, sent to Edward the fourth king of England, which in part was to stay one John Tintam, and one William Fabian English men, from proceeding in a voyage which they were preparing for Guinea, 1481, taken out of the booke of the workes of Gracias de Resende, which intreateth of the life and acts of Don John the second, king of Portugall. Chap. 33.

AND afterwards the king sent as Ambassadors from the towne of Monte major to king Edward the fourth of England, Ruy de Sousa, a principall person, and a man of great wisdom and estimation, and in whom the king reposed great trust, with doctor John d'Elvas, and Ferdinand de Pina, as secretarie. And they made their voyage by sea very honourably, being very well accompanied. These men were sent on the behalfe of their king, to confirme the ancient leagues with England, wherein it was conditioned that the new king of the one and of the other kingdome, should be bound to send to confirme the olde leagues. And likewise they had order to shew and make him acquainted with the title which the king held in the segneury of Ginnee, to the intent that after the king of England had seene the same; he should give charge thorow all his kingdomes, that no man should arme or set foorth ships to Ginnee: and also to request



him, that it would please him to give commandement to dissolve a certaine fleet, which one John Tintam and one William Fabian, English men, were making, by commandement of the duke of Medina Sidonia, to goe to the aforesayd parts of Ginnee. With which ambassage the king of England seemed to be very well pleased, and they were received of him with very great honour, and he condescended unto all that the ambassadours required of him, at whose hands they received authentically writings of the diligence which they had performed, with publication thereof by the heralds: and also provisoes of those confirmations which were necessary. And having dispatched all things well, and with the kings good will, they returned home into their countrey.

A briefe note concerning an ancient trade of the English Marchants to the Canarie-lands, gathered out of an olde ligier booke of M. Nicolas Thorne the elder a worshipfull marchant of the city of Bristoll.

It appeareth evidently out of a certaine note or letter of remembrance, in the custody of me Richard Hakluyt, written by M. Nicolas Thorne the elder a principall marchant of Bristoll, to his friend and factour Thomas Midnall, and his owne servant William Ballard at that time resident at S. Lucar in Andalusia; that in the yeere of our Lord 1526 (and by all circumstances and probabilities long before) certaine English marchants, and among the rest himselfe with one Thomas Spacheford exercised usuall and ordinary trade of marchandise unto the Canarie lands. For by the sayd letter notice was given to Thomas Midnall and William Ballard aforesayd, that a certaine ship called The Christopher of Cadiz bound for the West Indies had taken in certaine fardels of cloth both course and fine, broad and narrow of divers sorts and colours, some arovas of packthreed, sixe cerons or bagges of sope with other goods of M. Nicolas Thorne, to be delivered at Santa Cruz the chiefe towne in Tenerifa one of the seven Canary-lands. All which commodities the sayd Thomas and William were authorised by the owner in the letter before mentioned to barter & sell away at Santa Cruz. And in lieu of such mony as should arise of the sale of those goods they were appointed to returne backe into England good store of Orchell (which is a certaine kinde of mosse growing upon high rocks,

in those dayes much used to die withall) some quantity of sugar, and certaine hundreds of kid-skinnes. For the procuring of which and of other commodities at the best and first hand the sayd Thomas and William were to make their abode at Santa Cruz, and to remaine there as factours for the abovesayd M. Nicolas Thorne.

And here also I thought good to signifie, that in the sayd letters mention is made of one Thomas Tison an English man, who before the foresayd yere 1526 had found the way to the West Indies, and was there resident, unto whom the sayd M. Nicolas Thorne sent certaine armour and other commodities specified in the letter aforesayd.

A description of the fortunate Ilands, otherwise called the Ilands of Canaria, with their strange fruits and commodities: composed by Thomas Nicols English man, who remained there the space of seven yeeres together.

MINE intent is particularly to speake of the Canaria Ilands, which are seven in number, wherein I dwelt the space of seven yeres and more, because I finde such variety in sundry writers, and especially great untruths, in a booke called The New found world Antarctike, set out by a French man called Andrew Thevet, the which his booke he dedicated to the Cardinall of Sens, keeper of the great seale of France.

It appeareth by the sayd booke that he had read the works of sundry Phylosophers, Astronomers, and Cosmographers, whose opinions he gathered together. But touching his owne travell, which he affirmeth, I refer to the judgement of the expert in our dayes, and therefore for mine owne part I write of these Canaria Ilands, as time hath taught me in many yeres.

### The Iland of Canaria.

THE Iland of Canaria is almost equal in length and bredth, containing 12 leagues in length, touching the which as principall and the residue, the Spanyards holde opinion, that they discovered the same in their navigation toward America, but the Portugals say, that their nation first found the sayd Ilands in their navigation toward Aethiopia and the East Indies.

But truth it is that the Spanyards first conquered these

Ilands, with divers English gentlemen in their company, whose posterity this present day injoyeth them. Some write that this Iland was named Canaria by meane of the number of dogs which there were found: as for example, Andrew Thevet sayth, that one Juba carried two dogs from thence: but that opinion could I never learne by any of the naturall people of the countrey, although I have talked with many in my time, and with many of their children. For trueth it is, that there were dogs, but such as are in all the Northwest lands, and some part of the West India, which served the people in stead of sheepe for victuall. But of some of the conquerors of those Ilands I have heard say that the reason why they were called the Canaria Islands is, because there grow generally in them all fouresquare canes in great multitude together, which being touched will cast out a liquor as white as milke, which liquor is ranke poison, and at the first entry into these Ilands some of the discoverers were therewith poisoned: for many yeeres after that conquest the inhabitants began to plant both wine and sugar, so that Canaria was not so called by sugar canes.

The people which first inhabited this land were called Canaries by the conquerors, they were clothed in goat skinnes made like unto a loose cassocke, they dwelt in caves in the rocks, in great amity and brotherly love. They spake all one language: their chiefe feeding was gelt dogges, goates, and goates milke, their bread was made of barley meale and goates milke, called Gofia, which they use at this day, and thereof I have eaten divers times, for it is accounted exceeding holesome.

Touching the originall of these people some holde opinion, that the Romans which dwelt in Africa exiled them thither, aswell men as women, their tongues being cut out of their heads, for blasphemy against the Romane gods. But howsoever it were, their language was speciall, and not mixed with Romane speech or Arabian.

This Iland is now the principallest of all the rest, not in fertility, but by reason it is the seat of justice and government of all the residue. This Iland hath a speciall Governour for the Iland onely, yet notwithstanding there are three Judges called Auditours, who are superiour Judges, and all in one joyntly proceed as the Lord Chancellor of any realme.

To this city from all the other Ilands come all such by appeale, as have sustained any wrong, and these good Judges do remedy the same. The city is called Civitas Palmarum, it hath a beautifull Cathedrall church, with all dignities thereunto pertaining. For the publike weale of the Iland there are sundry Aldermen of great authority, who have a councell house by themselves. The city is not onely beautifull, but the citizens curious and gallant in apparell. And after any raine or foule weather a man may goe cleane in Velvet slippers, because the ground is sandy, the aire very temperate, without extreame heat or colde.

They reape wheat in February, and againe in May, which is excellent good, and maketh bread as white as snow. This Iland hath in it other three townes, the one called Telde, the second Galder, and the third Guia. It hath also twelve sugar houses called Ingenios, in which they make great quantity of good sugar.

The maner of the growth of sugar is in this sort, a good ground giveth foorth fruit nine times in 18 yere: that is to say, the first is called Planta, which is layd along in a furrow, so that the water of a sluice may come over every roote being covered with earth: this root bringeth foorth sundry canes, and so consequently all the rest. It groweth two yeeres before the yeelding of profit, and not sixe moneths, as Andrew Thevet the French man writeth.

Then are they cut even with the ground, and the tops & leaves called Coholia cut off, and the canes bound into bundels like faggots, and so are caried to the sugar house called Ingenio, where they are ground in a mill, and the juyce thereof conveyed by a conduct to a great vessell made for the purpose, where it is boiled till it waxe thicke, and then is it put into a fornace of earthen pots of the molde of a sugar loafe, and then is it carried to another house, called a purging house where it is placed to purge the blacknesse with a certaine clay that is layd thereon. Of the remainder in the cauldron is made a second sort called Escumas, and of the purging liquor that droppeth from the white sugar is made a third sort, and the remainder is called Panela or Netas, the refuse of all the purging is called Remiel or Malasses: and thereof is made another sort called Refinado.

When this first fruit is in this sort gathered, called

Planta, then the Cane-field where it grew is burned over with sugar straw to the stumps of the first canes, and being husbanded, watred and trimmed, at the end of other two yeeres it yeeldeth the second fruit called Zoca. The third fruit is called Tertia Zoca, the fourth Quarta Zoca, and so orderly the rest, til age causeth the olde Canes to be planted againe.

This Iland hath singular good wine, especially in the towne of Telde, and sundry sorts of good fruits, as Batatas, Mellons, Peares, Apples, Orenge, Limons, Pomgranats, Figs, Peaches of divers sorts, and many other fruits: but especially the Plantano which groweth neere brooke sides, it is a tree that hath no timber in it, but groweth directly upward with the body, having marvelous thicke leaves, and every leafe at the toppe of two yards long and almost halfe a yard broad. The tree never yeeldeth fruit but once, and then is cut downe; in whose place springeth another, and so still continueth. The fruit groweth on a branch, and every tree yeeldeth two or three of those branches, which beare some more and some lesse, as some forty and some thirty, the fruit is like a Cucumber, and when it is ripe it is blacke, and in eating more delicate then any conserve.

This Iland is sufficiently provided of Oxen, Kine, Camels, Goats, Sheepe, Capons, Hens, Ducks, and Pidgeons, and great Partridges. Wood is the thing that most wanteth: and because I have particularly to intreat of the other sixe Ilands, I leave further inlarging of Canaria, which standeth in 27 degrees distant from the Equator.

#### The Ile of Tenerif.

THE Iland of Tenerif standeth in 27 degrees and a halfe from the equator, and is distant from Canaria 12 leagues Northward. This Iland containeth 17 leagues in length, and the land lieth high in forme of a ridge of sowed lande in some part of England, and in the midst of the sayd place standeth a round hill called Pico Deteithe, situated in this sort. The top of this pike containeth of heighth directly upward 15 leagues & more, which is 45 English miles, out of the which often times proceedeth fire and brimstone, and it may be about halfe a mile in compasse: the sayd top is in forme or likenesse of a caldron. But within two miles of the top is nothing but ashes & pumish stones: yet beneath that two miles is

the colde region covered all the yere with snow, and somewhat lower are mighty huge trees growing, called Vinatico, which are exceeding heavy, and will not rot in any water, although they lie a thousand yeeres therein. Also there is a wood called Barbusano, of like vertue, with many Savine trees and Pine trees. And beneath these sorts of trees are woods of Bay trees of 10 & 12 miles long, which is a pleasant thing to travell thorow, among the which are great numbers of small birds, which sing exceeding sweet, but especially one sort that are very litle, and of colour in all respects like a Swallow, saving that he hath a little blacke spot on his breast as broad as a peny. He singeth more sweetly then all the rest, but if he be taken and imprisoned in a cage, he liveth but a small while. This Iland bringeth foorth all sorts of fruits, as Canaria doth: and also all the other Ilands in generall bring foorth shrubs or bushes, out of the which issueth a juice as white as milke, which after a while that it hath come out waxeth thicke, and is exceeding good birdlime, the bush is called Taybayba. This Iland also bringeth foorth another tree called Drago, which groweth on high among rocks, and by incision at the foot of the tree issueth out a liquor like blood, which is a common drug among Apothecaries. Of the wood of this tree are made targets greatly esteemed, because if any sword or dagger hit thereon, they sticke so fast that it is hard plucking them out.

This is the most fruitfull Iland of all the rest for corne, and in that respect is a mother or nurse to all the others in time of need. There groweth also a certaine mosse upon the high rocks called Orchel, which is bought for Diars to die withall. There are 12 sugar houses called Ingenios, which make great quantity of sugar. There is also one league of ground which standeth between two townes, the one called Larotava, and the other Rialeio, and it is thought that the like plot of ground is not in all the world. The reason is, that this one league of ground produceth sweet water out of the cliffes or rocky mountaines, corne of all sortes, fruites of all sortes, and excellent good silke, flaxe, waxe, and hony, and very good wines in abundance, with great store of sugar and fire-wood. Out of this Iland is laden great quantity of wines for the West India, and other countreys. The best groweth on a hill side called the Ramble.



There is in that Iland a faire city, standing three leagues from the sea, nere unto a lake called Laguna, wherein are two faire parish churches, there dwelleth the governour who ruleth all that Iland with justice. There are also aldermen for the publike weale, who buy their offices of the king: the most of the whole inhabitants of this city are gentlemen, merchants, and husband men.

There are other foure townes called Santa Cruz, Laro-tava, Rialeio, and Garachico.

In this Iland before the conquest dwelt seven kings, who with all their people dwelt in caves, and were clothed in goat skinner, as the Canaria people were, and used such like order of diet as they had. Their order of buriall was, that when any died, he was carried naked to a great cave, where he was propped up against the wall standing on his feet. But if he were of any authority among them, then had he a staffe in his hand, and a vessel of milke standing by him. I have seene caves of 300 of these corpses together, the flesh being dried up, the body remained as light as parchment. These people were called Guanches, naturally they spake another language cleane contrary to the Canarians, and so consequently every Iland spake a severall language.

Note (gentle reader) that the Iland of Canaria, the Ile of Tenerif, and the Ile of Palma appertaine to the king of Spaine, unto whom they pay fifty thousand duckats yeerely for custome and other profits. All these Ilands joyntly are one bishopricke, which pay to the bishop twelve thousand duckats yeerely. And this I conclude of the Ile of Tenerif, which standeth in 27 degrees and a halfe, as I have before declared.

#### Gomera.

THE Iland of Gomera standeth Westward from Tenerif, in distance sixe leagues: this is but a small Iland containing eight leagues in length. It is an Earledome, & the Lord thereof is called the earle of Gomera. But in case of any controversie the vassals may appeale to the kings superior Judges which reside in Canaria.

This Iland hath one proper towne called Gomera, which hath an excellent good port or harbour for ships, where often times the Indian fleet take refreshing for their voyage.

There is also sufficient graine and fruit for the maintenance of themselves.

There is one Ingenio or Sugar-house, with great plenty of wine and other sorts of fruits, as Canaria and Tenerif hath.

This Iland yeeldeth no other commodity but onely orchell; it standeth in 27 degrees distant from the Equator toward the pole Arcticke.

### The Ile of Palma.

THE Ile of Palma standeth twelve leagues distant from the Ile of Gomera Northwestward. This Iland is fruitfull of wine and sugar: it hath a proper city called the city of Palma, where is great contraction for wines, which are laden for the West India & other places. This city hath one faire church, and a governour, and aldermen to maintaine and execute justice. It hath also another pretty towne, called S. Andrewes. It hath also foure Ingenios which make excellent sugar, two of the which are called Zauzes, and the other two, Tassacort.

This Iland yeeldeth but little bread-corne; but rather is thereof provided from Tenerif and other places.

Their best wines grow in a soile called the Brenia, where yerely is gathered twelve thousand butts of wine like unto Malmsies. This Iland standeth round, and containeth in circuit neere five and twenty leagues. It hath plenty of all sorts of fruits, as Canaria and Tenerif have, it standeth in twenty seven degrees and a halfe.

### The Iland of Yron, called Hierro.

THIS Iland standeth ten leagues distant from the Iland of Palma Westward: it is but a little Iland, which containeth sixe leagues in circuit, and hath but small extension. It appertaineth to the earle of Gomera. The chieftest commodity of this Iland is goats flesh and orchell. There is no wine in all that Iland, but onely one vineyard that an English man of Taunton in the West countrey planted among rocks, his name was John Hill.

This Iland hath no kind of fresh water, but onely in the middle of the Iland groweth a great tree with leaves like an Olive tree, which hath a great cisterne at the foot of the sayd tree. This tree continually is covered with clouds, and by meanes thereof the leaves of the sayd tree continually drop water, very sweet, into the sayd



cisterne, which commeth to the sayd tree from the clouds by attraction. And this water sufficeth the Iland for all necessities, aswell for the cattell, as for the inhabitants. It standeth in 27 degrees.

#### The Iland of Lanzarota.

THE Iland of Lanzarota standeth eighteene leagues distant from grand Canaria Southeastward. The onely commodity of this Iland is goats flesh and orchell. It is an earledome, and doth appertaine to Don Augustine de Herrera, with title of earle of Fortaventura and Lanzarota. But the vassals of these earledomes may in any cause of wrong appeale to the Kings Judges, which reside in Canaria, as I have sayd before: because although the king hath reserved to himselfe but onely the three fruitful Ilands, called Canaria, Tenerife, and Palma, yet he also reserved the rod of justice to himselfe, because otherwise the vassals might be evill intreated of their Lords.

From this Iland do weekly resort to Canaria, Tenerife, & Palma, boats laden with dried goats flesh, called Tuss-metta, which serveth in stead of bacon, and is very good meat. This Iland standeth in 26 degrees, and is in length twelve leagues.

#### The Ile of Forteventura.

THE Ile of Forteventura standeth fifty leagues from the promontory of Cabo de Guer, in the firme land of Africa, and foure & twenty leagues distant from Canaria Estward. This Iland doth appertaine to the lord of Lanzarota. It is reasonable fruitfull of wheat and barley, and also of kine, goats, and orchel: this Ile is fiftene leagues long and ten leagues broad. On the North side it hath a little Iland about one league distant from the maine Iland, betweene both of the which it is navigable for any ships, and is called Graciosa.

Both Forteventura and Lanzarota have very little wine of the growth of those Ilands. It standeth in 27 degrees.

Thus much have I written of these seven Ilands by experience, because I was a dweller there, as I have sayd before, the space of seven yeeres in the affaires of master Thomas Locke, master Anthonie Hickman, and master Edward Castelin, who in those dayes were worthy merchants, and of great credite in the citie of London.

## A description of the Iland of Madera.

THE Iland of Madera standeth in 32 degrees distant from the equinoctinall line, and seventie leagues from the Ile of Tenerif Northeastward and Southwest from Hercules pillars. This Iland was first discovered by one Macham an Englishman, and was after conquered and inhabited by the Portugall nation. It was first called the Iland of Madera, by reason of the great wildernesse of sundry sortes of trees that there did growe, and yet doe, as Cedars, Cypres, Vinatico, Barbuzano, Pine trees, and divers others, and therefore the sayd Iland continueth still with the same name. Howbeit they hold opinion, that betweene the sayd Iland and the Ile of Palma is an Iland not yet discovered, which is the true Iland Madera called saint Brandon. This Iland yeeldeth a great summe of money to the king of Portugall yeerely: it hath one faire citie called Fouchall, which hath one faire port or harbour for shippes, and a strong bulwarke, and a faire Cathedrall church, with a bishop and other dignities thereunto appertaining. There is also justice and government according to the Portugall use. But causes of appellation are remitted to the citie of Lisbone in Portugall to the kings superior judges there. This Iland hath another towne called Machico, which hath likewise a good road for ships, which towne and road were so called after the name of Macham the Englishman, who first discovered the same. There are also sixteene sugar houses called Ingenios, which make excellent good sugar.

There is besides the goodly timber before declared, great store of divers sortes of fruites, as Peares, Apples, Plummes, wild Dates, Peaches of divers sortes, Mellons, Batatas, Orenge, Lemmons, Pomgranates, Citrons, Figges, and all maner of garden herbes. There are many Dragon trees, such as grow in the Canarie Ilands, but chiefly this land produceth great quantitie of singular good wines which are laden for many places. On the North side of this land three leagues distant from the maine Iland standeth another litle Iland called Porto santo: the people thereof liveth by husbandrie, for the Iland of Madera yeeldeth but litle corne, but rather is thereof provided out of France and from the Iland of Tenerif. On the East side of the Ile of Madera sixe

leagues distant standeth another litle Iland called the Desert, which produceth onely Orchell, and nourisheth a great number of Goates, for the provision of the maine Iland, which may be thirtie leagues in circuit: and the land is of great heigth where the foresayd trees growe. It is woonder to see the conveyance of the water to the Ingenios by Mines through the mountaines.

In the mid way betweene Tenerif and the Iland of Madera standeth a litle solitarie Iland called the Salvages, which may bee about one league in compasse, which hath neither tree nor fruit, but is onely food for Goates.

The originall of the first voyage for traffique into the kingdom of Marocco in Barbarie, begun in the yeere 1551. with a tall ship called the Lion of London, whereof went as captaine Master Thomas Windam, as appeareth by this extract of a letter of James Aldaie, to the worshipfull master Michael Locke, which Aldaie professeth himselfe to have bene the first inventer of this trade.

WORSHIPFUL Sir, having lately bene acquainted with your intent to prosecute the olde intermitted discoverie for Catai, if therein with my knowledge, travell or industrie I may doe you service, I am readie to doe it, and therein to adventure my life to the uttermost point. Trueth it is, that I have bene by some men (not my friends) evill spoken of at London, saying that although I be a man of knowledge in the Arte of Navigation and Cosmographie, and that I have bene the inventer of some voyages that be now growen to great effect; yet say they maliciously and without just cause, that I have not bene willing at any season to proceed in those voyages that I have taken in hand, taking example especially of two voyages. The one was when I was master in the great Barke Aucher for the Levant, in which voyage I went not, but the causes they did not know of my let from the same, nor of the other. But first the very trueth is, that I was from the same voyage letted by the Princes letters, which my Master Sebastian Gabota had obtained for that purpose, to my great grieve. And as touching the second voyage which I invented for the trade of Barbarie, the living God knoweth that I say most true, that when the great sweate was, (whereon the chiefe of those with whom I joyned in that voyage

died, that is to say, Sir John Lutterell, John Fletcher, Henry Ostrich and others) I my selfe was also taken with the same sweate in London, and after it, whether with evill diet in keeping, or how I know not, I was cast into such an extreame fever, as I was neither able to ride nor goe: and the shippe being at Portesmouth, Thomas Windam had her away from thence, before I was able to stand upon my legges, by whom I lost at that instant fourescore pound. Besides I was appointed by them that died (if they had lived) to have had the whole government both of shippe and goods, because I was to them the sole inventer of that trade.

In the first voyage to Barbary there were two Moores, being noble men, whereof one was of the Kings blood, convayed by the said Master Thomas Windham into their Countrey out of England.

Yours humble at your commandement,

James Alday.

The second voyage to Barbary in the yeere 1552. Set forth by the right worshipfull Sir John Yorke, Sir William Gerard, Sir Thomas Wroth, Master Frances Lambert, Master Cole, and others; Written by the relation of Master James Thomas then Page to Master Thomas Windham chiefe Captaine of this voyage.

THE shippes that went on this voyage were three, whereof two were of the River of Thames, That is to say, the Lyon of London, whereof Master Thomas Windham was Captaine and part owner, of about an hundred & fiftie tunnes: The other was the Buttolfe about fourescore tunnes, and a Portugall Caravel bought of certaine Portugals in Newport in Wales, and fraighted for this voyage, of summe sixtie tunnes. The number of men in the Fleete were an hundred and twentie. The Master of the Lyon was one John Kerry of Mynhed in Somersetshire, his Mate was David Landman. The chiefe Captaine of this small Fleete was Master Thomas Windham a Norffolke gentleman borne, but dwelling at Marshfield-parke in Somerset shire. This Fleete departed out of King-rode neere Bristoll about the beginning of May 1552, being on a Munday in the morning: and the Munday fortnight next ensuing in the evening came to an ancker at their first port in the roade of Zafia, or Asafi on the coast of Barbarie, standing in 32. degrees

of latitude, and there put on land part of our marchandise to be conveied by land to the citie of Marocco: which being done, and having refreshed our selves with victuals and water, we went to the second port called Santa Cruz, where we discharged the rest of our goods, being good quantitie of linnen and woollen cloth, corall, amber, Jet, and divers other things well accepted by the Moores. In which road we found a French ship, which not knowing whether it were warre or peace betweene England and France, drewe her selfe as neere under the towne wals as she could possible, craving aide of the towne for her defence, if need were, which in deed seeing us draw neere, shot at us a piece from the wals, which came over the Lion our Admirall, between the maine mast & her foremast. Whereupon we comming to an anker, presently came a pinnes aboard us to know what we were, who understanding that we had bene there the yere before, & came with the good leave of their king in marchants wise, were fully satisfied, and gave us good leave to bring our goods peaceably on shore, where the Viceroy, whose name was Sibill Manache, within short time after came to visite us, and used us with all curtesie. But by divers occasions we spent here very neere three moneths before we could get in our lading, which was Sugar, Dates, Almonds, and Malassos or sugar Syrope. And for all our being here in the heate of the Sommer, yet none of our company perished by sicknesse. Our ships being laden, wee drew into the Sea for a Westerne wind for England. But being at sea, a great leake fell upon the Lion, so that we were driven to Lancerota, and Forteventura, where, betweene the two Ilands, we came to a road, whence wee put on land out of our sayd ship 70. chestes of Sugar upon Lancerota, with some dozen or sixteene of our company, where the inhabitants supposing we had made a wrongfull prize of our caravell, suddenly came with force upon our people, among whom I my selfe was one, tooke us prisoners, and spoiled the sugars: which thing being perceived from our ships, they manned out three boates, thinking to rescue us, and drave the Spaniards to flight, whereof they slew eightene, and tooke their governour of the Iland prisoner, who was a very aged gentleman about 70. yeeres of age. But chasing the enemie so farre, for our recoverie, as poulder and arrowes wanted, the Spaniardes perceiving

this, returned, and in our mens retire they slew sixe of them. Then a Parle grew, in the which it was agreed, that we the prisoners should be by them restored, and they receive their olde governour, giving us a testimonie under his and their hands, what damages wee had there received, the which damages were here restored, and made good by the king of Spaine his marchants upon our returne into England. After wee had searched and mended our leake, being returned aboard, we came under saile, and as wee were going to the sea on the one side of the Iland, the Cacafuego and other ships of the king of Portugals Armada entered at the other, and came to anker in the road from whence we were but newly departed, and shot off their great ordinance in our hearing. And here by the way it is to bee understood that the Portugals were much offended with this our new trade into Barbarie, and both in our voiage the yeere before, as also in this they gave out in England by their marchants, that if they tooke us in those partes, they would use us as their mortall enemies, with great threatens and menaces. But by God and good providence wee escaped their handes. From this Iland shaping our course for England, we were seven or eight weekes before we could reach the coast of England. The first port wee entered into was the haven of Plimmouth, from whence within short time wee came into the Thames, and landed our marchandise at London, about the ende of the moneth of October, 1552.

A voiage made out of England unto Guinea and Benin in Affrike, at the charges of certaine marchants Adventurers of the Citie of London, in the yeere of our Lord 1553.

I WAS desired by certaine of my friends to make some mention of this Voiage, that some memorie thereof might remaine to our posteritie, if either iniquitie of time consuming all things, or ignorance creeping in by barbarousnesse and contempt of knowledge should hereafter bury in oblivion so woorthie attempts, so much the greatlier to bee esteemed, as before never enterprised by Englishmen, or at the least so frequented, as at this present they are, and may bee, to the great commoditie of our marchants, if the same be not hindered by the ambition of such, as for the conquering of fortie or fiftie miles here and there,



and erecting of certaine fortresses, thinke to be Lordes of halfe the world, envying that other should enjoy the commodities, which they themselves cannot wholly possesse. And although such as have bene at charges in the discovering and conquering of such landes ought by good reason to have certaine privileges, preheminences, and tributes for the same, yet (to speake under correction) it may seeme somewhat rigorous, and agaynst good reason and conscience, or rather agaynst the charitie that ought to be among Christian men, that such as invade the dominions of other should not permit other friendly to use the trade of marchandise in places neerer, or seldome frequented of them, whereby their trade is not hindered in such places, where they themselves have at their owne election appointed the Martes of their traffike. But forasmuch as at this present it is not my intent to accuse or defend, approve or improove, I will cease to speake any further hereof, and proceed to the description of the first voyage, as bricfly and faithfully as I was advertised of the same, by the information of such credible persons, as made diligent inquisition to know the trueth thereof, as much as shall be requisite, omitting to speake of many particular things, not greatly necessarie to be knownen: which neverthesse, with also the exact course of the navigation, shall be more fully declared in the second voiage. And if herein favour or friendship shall perhaps cause some to thinke that some have bene sharply touched, let them lay apart favour and friendship, and give place to trueth, that honest men may receive prayse for well doing, and lewd persons reproch, as the just stipend of their evill desertes, whereby other may be deterred to doe the like, and vertuous men encouraged to proceed in honest attempts.

But that these voyages may be more plainly understood of all men, I have thought good for this purpose, before I intreat hereof, to make a brieffe description of Africa, being that great part of the world, on whose West side beginneth the coast of Guinea at Cabo Verde, about twelve degrees in latitude, on this side the Equinoctiall line, and two degrees in longitude from the measuring line, so running from the North to the South, and by East in some places, within 5, 4, and 3 degrees and a halfe unto the Equinoctiall, and so forth in maner directly East and by North, for the space of 36 degrees

or thereabout, in longitude from the West to the East, as shall more plainly appeare in the description of the second voyage.

A briefe description of Afrike gathered by Richard Eden.

IN Africa the lesse are these kingdoms: the kingdom of Tunis and Constantina, which is at this day under Tunis, and also the region of Bugia, Tripoli, and Ezzah. This part of Afrike is very barren by reason of the great deserts, as the deserts of Numidia and Barca. The principall ports of the kingdome of Tunis are these: Goletta, Bizerta, Potofarnia, Bona, and Stora. The chiefe cities of Tunis are Constantina and Bona, with divers other. Under this kingdom are many Ilands, as Zerbi, Lampadola, Pantalarea, Limoso, Beit, Gamelaro, and Malta, where at this present is the great master of the Rhodes. Under the South of this kingdom are the great deserts of Lybia. All the nations in this Africa the lesse are of the sect of Mahomet, and a rusticall people, living scattred in villages. The best of this part of Afrike is Barbaria lying on the coast of the sea Mediterraneum.

Mauritania (now called Barbaria) is divided into two parts, as Mauritania Tingitana, and Cæsariensis. Mauritania Tingitana is now called the kingdom of Fes, and the kingdom of Marocco. The principall citie of Fes is called Fessa: and the chiefe citie of Marocco is named Marocco.

Mauritania Cæsariensis is at this day called the kingdom of Tremisen, with also the citie called Tremisen or Telensin. This region is full of deserts, and reacheth to the Sea Mediterraneum, to the citie of Oram, with the port of Mersalquiber. The kingdom of Fes reacheth unto the Ocean Sea, from the West to the citie of Argilla: and the port of the sayd kingdom is called Sala.

The kingdom of Marocco is also extended above the Ocean Sea, unto the citie of Azamor and Azafi, which are upon the Ocean Sea, toward the West of the sayd kingdom. Nere Mauritania Tingitana (that is to say, by the two kingdoms of Fes, and Marocco) are in the Sea, the Ilands of Canarie, called in old time, The fortunate Ilands. Toward the South of this region is the kingdom of Guinea, with Senega, Jalofo, Gambra, and many other regions of the Blacke Moores, called Aethiopians or



Negros, all which are watered with the river Negro called in old time Niger. In the sayd regions are no cities, but onely certaine lowe cottages made of boughes of trees, plastered with chalke, and covered with strawe. In these regions are also very great deserts.

The kingdom of Marocco hath under it these seven kingdoms: Hea, Sus, Guzula, the territorie of Marrocco, Duccala, Hazchora, and Tedle. The kingdom of Fes hath as many: as Fes, Temesne, Azgar, Elabath, Errif, Garet, and Elcair. The kingdom of Tremisen hath these regions: Tremisen, Tenez, and Elgazair, all which are Machometists. But all the regions of Guinea are pure Gentiles, and idolatrous, without profession of any religion, or other knowledge of God, then by the law of nature.

Africa the great is one of the three parts of the world, knowen in old time, and severed from Asia, on the East by the river Nilus, on the West from Europe by the pillars of Hercules. The hither part is now called Barbarie, and the people Moores. The inner part is called Lybia and Aethiopia. Afrike the lesse is in this wise bounded. On the West it hath Numidia; On the East Cyrenaica: On the North, the sea called Mediterraneum. In this countrey was the noble city of Carthage.

In the East side of Afrike beneath the red sea, dwelleth the great and mighty Emperour and Christian king Prester John, well known to the Portugales in their voyages to Calicut. His dominions reach very farre on every side: and hath under him many other Kings both christian and heathen that pay him tribute. This mightie prince is called David the Emperour of Aethiopia. Some write that the king of Portugall sendeth him yeerely eight ships laden with marchandize. His kingdom confineth with the red Sea, and reacheth far into Afrike toward Aegypt and Barbarie. Southward it confineth with the Sea toward the Cape de Bona Speranza: and on the other side with the sea of sand, called Mare de Sabione, a very dangerous sea lying between ye great citie of Alcair, or Cairo in Aegypt, and the country of Aethiopia: In the which way are many uninhabitable deserts, continuing for the space of five dayes journey. And they affirme, that if the sayd Christian Emperor were not hindered by those deserts (in the which is great lacke of victuals, & especially of water) he would or now have invaded the kingdom of

Egypt, and the citie of Alcair. The chiefe city of Ethiopia, where this great emperor is resident, is called Amacaiz, being a faire citie, whose inhabitants are of the colour of an Olive. There are also many other cities, as the city of Sava upon the river of Nilus, where the Emperour is accustomed to remaine in the Sommer season. There is likewise a great city named Barbaregaf, and Ascon, from whence it is said that the Queene of Saba came to Hierusalem to heare the wisdom of Salomon. This citie is but litle, yet very faire, and one of the chiefe cities in Ethiope. In this province are many exceeding high mountains, upon the which is said to be the earthly paradise: and some say that there are the trees of the Sunne and Moone, whereof the antiquitie maketh mention: yet that none can passe thither by reason of great deserts of an hundred daies journey. Also beyond these mountains is the Cape of Bona Speranza. And to have said thus much of Afrike it may suffice.

#### The first voiage to Guinea and Benin.

In the yeere of our Lord 1553. the twelfth day of August, sailed from Portsmouth two goodly ships, the Primerose and the Lion, with a pinnas called the Moone, being all well furnished aswell with men of the lustiest sort, to the number of seven score, as also with ordinance and victuals requisite to such a voiage: having also two captaines, the one a stranger called Anthonie Anes Pinteado, a Portugall, borne in a towne named The Port of Portugall, a wise, discreet, and sober man, who for his cunning in sailing, being as well an expert Pilot as a politike capitaine, was sometime in great favour with the king of Portugall, and to whom the coasts of Brasile and Guinea were committed to be kept from the Frenchmen, to whom he was a terrour on the Sea in those parts, and was furthermore a gentleman of the king his masters house. But as fortune in maner never favoureth but flattereth, never promiseth but deceiveth, never raiseth but casteth downe againe: and as great wealth & favour have alwaies companions, emulation and envie, he was after many adversities & quarels made against him, inforced to come into England: where in this golden voyage he was evil matched with an unequal companion, and unlike match of most sundry qualities & conditions, with vertues few or

none adorned. Thus departed these noble ships under saile on their voyage: But first captaine Windam putting forth of his ship at Portsmouth a kinsman of one of the head marchants, and shewing herein a muster of the tragicall partes hee had conceived in his braine, and with such small beginnings nourished so monstrous a birth, that more happy, yea and blessed was that yong man being left behind, then if he had bene taken with them, as some do wish he had done the like by theirs. Thus sailed they on their voyage, untill they came to the Iland of Madera, where they tooke in certaine wines for the store of their ships, and paid for them as they agreed of the price. At these Ilands they met with a great Galion of the king of Portugall, full of men and ordinance: yet such as could not have prevailed if it had attempted to withstand or resist our ships, for the which cause it was set foorth, not onely to let and interrupt these our shippes of their purposed voiage, but al other that should attempt the like: yet chiefly to frustrate our voiage. For the king of Portugall was sinisterly informed, that our ships were armed to his castle of Mina in those parties, whereas nothing lesse was ment.

After that our ships departed from the Iland of Madera forward on their voiage, began this worthy captaine Pinteados sorow, as a man tormented with the company of a terrible Hydra, who hitherto flattred with him, & made him a faire countenance and shew of love. Then did he take upon him to command all alone, setting nought both by captain Pinteado, and the rest of the marchants factors, sometimes with opprobrious words, and somtimes with threatnings most shamfully abusing them, taking from Pinteado the service of the boies and certain mariners that were assigned him by the order and direction of the worshipful merchants, and leaving him as a common mariner, which is the greatest despite and grief that can be to a Portugale or Spaniard, to be diminished of their honor, which they esteem above all riches. Thus sailing forward on their voiage, they came to the Ilands of Canarie, continuing their course from thence until they arrived at the Iland of S. Nicholas, where they victualled themselves with fresh meat, of the flesh of wild goats, whereof is great plenty in that Iland, & in maner of nothing els. From hence folowing on their course and tarying here & there at the desert Ilands in the way,

because they would not come too timely to the countrey of Guinea for the heat, and tarying somewhat too long (for what can be well ministred in a common wealth, where inequality with tyrannie wil rule alone) they came at the length to the first land of the country of Guinea, where they fel with the great river of Sesto, where they might for their marchandizes have laden their ships with the graines of that countrey, which is a very hote fruit, and much like unto a fig as it groweth on the tree. For as the figs are full of small seeds, so is the said fruit full of graines, which are loose within the cod, having in the mids thereof a hole on every side. This kind of spice is much used in cold countries, & may there be sold for great advantage, for exchange of other wares. But our men, by the perswasion or rather inforcement of this tragicall captaine, not regarding and setting light by that commoditie, in comparison of ye fine gold they thirsted, sailed an hundred leagues further, until they came to the golden land: where not attempting to come neere the castle pertaining to the king of Portugall, which was within the river of Mina, they made sale of their ware only on this side & beyond it, for the gold of that country, to the quantitie of an hundred and fiftie pounds weight, there being in case that they might have dispatched all their ware for gold, if the untame braine of Windam had, or could have given eare to the counsell and experience of Pinteado. For when that Windam not satisfied with the gold which he had, and more might have had if he had taried about the Mina, commanding the said Pinteado (for so he tooke upon him) to lead the ships to Benin, being under the Equinoctial line, and an hundred and fifty leagues beyond the Mina, where he looked to have their ships laden with pepper: and being counselled of the said Pinteado, considering the late time of the yeere, for that time to go no further, but to make sale of their wares such as they had for gold, wherby they might have bene great gainers: Windam not assenting hereunto, fell into a sudden rage, reviling the sayd Pinteado, calling him Jew, with other opprobrious words, saying, This whore-son Jew hath promised to bring us to such places as are not, or as he cannot bring us unto: but if he do not, I will cut off his eares and naile them to the maste. Pinteado gave the foresaid counsell to go no further for the safeguard of the men and their lives, which they should

put in danger if they came too late, for the Rossia which is their Winter, not for cold, but for smothering heate, with close and cloudie aire and storming weather, of such putrifying qualitie, that it rotted the coates of their backs : or els for comming to soone for the scorching heat of the sunne, which caused them to linger in the way. But of force and not of will brought he the ships before the river of Benin, where riding at an Anker, they sent their pinnas up into the river 50 or 60 leagues, from whence certaine of the marchants with captaine Pinteado, Francisco a Portugale, Nicholas Lambart gentleman, and other marchants were conducted to the court where the king remained, ten leagues from the river side, whither when they came, they were brought with a great company to the presence of the king, who being a blacke Moore (although not so blacke as the rest) sate in a great huge hall, long and wide, the wals made of earth without windowes, the rooffe of thin boords, open in sundry places, like unto lovers to let in the aire.

And here to speake of the great reverence they give to their king, it is such, that if we would give as much to our Savior Christ, we should remooove from our heads many plagues which we daily deserve for our contempt and impietie.

So it is therefore, that when his noble men are in his presence, they never looke him in the face, but sit cowering, as we upon our knees, so they upon their buttocks, with their elbowes upon their knees, and their hands before their faces, not looking up until the king command them. And when they are comming toward the king, as far as they doe see him, they do shew such reverence, sitting on the ground with their faces covered as before. Likewise when they depart from him, they turn not their backs toward him, but goe creeping backward with like reverence.

And now to speake somewhat of the communication that was between the king and our men, you shall first understand that he himselfe could speake the Portugall tongue, which he had learned of a child. Therefore after he had commanded our men to stand up, and demanded of them the cause of their comming into that countrey, they answered by Pinteado, that they were marchants travailing into those parties for the commodities of his countrey, for exchange of wares which they had brought

from their countries, being such as should be no lesse commodious for him and his people. The king then having of old lying in a certaine store-house 30 or 40 kintals of Pepper (every kintall being an hundred weight) willed them to looke upon the same, and againe to bring him a sight of such merchandizes as they had brought with them. And thereupon sent with the captaine and the marchants certaine of his men to conduct them to the waters side, with other to bring the ware from the pinnas to the court. Who when they were returned and the wares seen, the king grew to this ende with the merchants to provide in 30 dayes the lading of al their ships with pepper. And in case their merchandizes would not extend to the value of so much pepper, he promised to credite them to their next returne, and thereupon sent the country round about to gather pepper, causing the same to be brought to the court: So that within the space of 30 dayes they had gathered fourescore tunne of pepper.

In the meane season our men partly having no rule of themselves, but eating without measure of the fruits of the countrey, and drinking the wine of the Palme trees that droppeth in the night from the cut of the branches of the same, and in such extreme heate running continually into the water, not used before to such sudden and vehement alterations (then the which nothing is more dangerous) were thereby brought into swellings and agues: insomuch that the later time of the yeere coming on, caused them to die sometimes three & sometimes 4 or 5 in a day. Then Windam perceiving the time of the 30 daies to be expired, and his men dying so fast, sent to the court in post to Captaine Pinteado, & the rest to come away and to tary no longer. But Pinteado with the rest, wrote backe to him againe, certifying him of the great quantity of pepper they had already gathered & looked daily for much more: desiring him furthermore to remember the great praise and name they should win, if they came home prosperously, and what shame of the contrary. With which answer Windam not satisfied, and many of their men dying dayly, willed and commaunded them againe either to come away forthwith, or els threatened to leave them behinde. When Pinteado heard this answer, thinking to perswade him with reason, hee tooke his way from the court toward the ships, being



conducted thither with men by the kings commandement.

In the meane season Windam all raging, brake up Pinteados Cabin, brake open his chestes, spoiled such provision of cold stilled waters and suckets as he had provided for his health, and left him nothing, neither of his instruments to saile by, nor yet of his apparell: and in the meane time falling sicke, himselfe died also. Whose death Pinteado comming aboard, lamented as much as if he had bene the deerest friend he had in the world. But certaine of the mariners and other officers did spit in his face, some calling him Jewe, saying that he had brought them thither to kill them: and some drawing their swords at him, making a shew to slay him. Then he perceiving that they would needs away, desired them to tary that he might fetch the rest of the marchants that were left at the court, but they would not grant this request. Then desired he them to give him the ship-boate, with as much of an old saile as might serve for the same, promising them therewith to bring Nicholas Lambert and the rest into England, but all was in vaine. Then wrote he a letter to the court to the marchants, informing them of all the matter, and promising them if God would lend him life to retorne with all haste to fetch them. And thus was Pinteado kept ashipboord against his will, thrust among the boyes of the ship, not used like a man, nor yet like an honest boy, but glad to find favour at the cookes hand. Then departed they, leaving one of their ships behind them, which they sunke for lacke of men to cary her. After this, within 6 or 7 dayes sayling, dyed also Pinteado for very pensivenesse & thought that stroke him to the heart. A man worthy to serve any prince, and most vilely used. And of sevenscore men came home to Plimmouth scarcely forty, and of them many died. And that no man should suspect these words which I have saide in commendation of Pinteado, to be spoken upon favour otherwise then trueth, I have thought good to adde hereunto the copie of the letters which the king of Portugall and the infant his brother wrote unto him to reconcile him, at such time as upon the king his masters displeasure (and not for any other crime or offence, as may appeare by the said letters) he was only for povertie inforced to come into England, where he first perswaded our marchants to



attempt the said voyages to Guinea. But as the king of Portugall too late repented him that he had so punished Pinteado, upon malicious informations of such as envied the mans good fortune: even so may it hereby appeare that in some cases even Lions themselves may either be hindered by the contempt, or aided by the help of the poore mise, according unto the fable of Esope.

The copie of Anthonie Anes Pinteado his letters patents, whereby the king of Portugall made him knight of his house, after all his troubles and imprisonment, which, by wrong information made to the king, he had susteined of long time, being at the last delivered, his cause knowen and manifested to the king by a gray Frier the kings Confessor.

I THE king doe give you to understand lord Francis Desseaso, one of my counsell and overseer of my house, that in consideration of the good service which Anthony Anes Pinteado, the sonne of John Anes, dwelling in the towne called the Port, hath done unto me, my will and pleasure is, to make him knight of my house, allowing to him in pension seven hundred reis monethly, and every day one alcayre of barly, as long as he keepeth a horse, & to be paid according to the ordinance of my house. Providing alwaies that he shall receive but one marriage gift. And this also in such condition, that the time which is accepted in our ordinance, forbidding such men to marry for getting such children as might succede them in this allowance, which is 6 yeres after the making of this patent, shalbe first expired before he do marry. I therefore command you to cause this to be entred in the booke called the Matricula of our houshold, under the title of knights. And when it is so entred, let the clarke of the Matricula, for the certeintie therof, write on the backside of this Alvala, or patent, the number of the leafe wherein this our grant is entred. Which done, let him returne this writing unto the said Anthonie Anes Pinteado for his warrant.

I Diego Henriques have written this in Almarin the two and twentie day of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1551. And this benevolence the king gave unto Anthonie Anes Pinteado, the five and twentie day of July this present yeere.

Rey.

The Secretaries declaration written under the kings  
grant.

YOUR Majestie hath vouchsafed, in respect and consideration of the good service of Anthony Anes Pinteado, dwelling in the port, and sonne of John Anes, to make him knight of your house, with ordinarie allowance, of seven hundred reis pension by the moneth, and one alcaire of barley by the day, as long as he keepeth a horse: and to be paide according to the ordinance of your house, with condition that hee shall have but one marriage gift: and that not within the space of sixe yeres after the making of these letters Patents. The Secretaries note. Entred in the booke of the Matricula. Fol. 683.  
Francisco de Siquera.

The copie of the letter of Don Lewes the infant, and brother to the king of Portugall, sent into England to Anthonie Anes Pinteado.

ANTHONY ANES PINTEADO, I the infant brother to the king, have me heartily commended unto you. Peter Gonsalves is gone to seeke you, desiring to bring you home again into your countrey. And for that purpose he hath with him a safe conduct for you, granted by the king, that therby you may freely and without all feare come home. And although the weather be foule and stormie, yet faile not to come: for in the time that his Majestie hath given you, you may doe many things to your contentation and gratifying the king, whereof I would be right glad: and to bring the same to passe, I will do all that lieth in me for your profite. But forasmuch as Peter Gonsalves will make further declaration hereof unto you, I say no more at this present. Written in Lisbone, the eight day of December. Anno 1552.

The infant Don Lewes.

ALL these foresaid writings I saw under seale, in the house of my friend Nicholas Liese, with whom Pinteado left them, at his unfortunate departing to Guinea. But, notwithstanding all these friendly letters, and faire promises, Pinteado durst not attempt to goe home, neither to keepe companie with the Portugals his countrey men, without the presence of other: forasmuch as he had

secrete admonitions that they intended to slay him, if time and place might have served their wicked intent.

The second voyage to Guinea set out by Sir George Barne, Sir John Yorke, Thomas Lok, Anthonie Hickman and Edward Castelin, in the yere 1554. The Captaine whereof was M. John Lok.

As in the first voiage I have declared rather the order of the history, then the course of the navigation, whereof at that time I could have no perfect information: so in the description of this second voyage, my chiefe intent hath beene to shew the course of the same, according to the observation and ordinarie custome of the mariners, and as I received it at the handes of an expert Pilot, being one of the chiefe in this voyage, who also with his owne hands wrote a brieve declaration of the same, as he found and tried all things, not by conjecture, but by the art of sayling, and instruments perteing to the mariners facultie. Not therefore assuming to my selfe the commendations due unto other, neither so bold as in any part to change or otherwise dispose the order of this voyage so well observed by art and experience, I have thought good to set forth the same, in such sort and phrase of speech as is commonly used among them, and as I received it of the said Pilot, as I have said. Take it therefore as followeth.

In the yeere of our Lord 1554 the eleventh day of October, we departed the river of Thames with three goodly ships, the one called the Trinitie, a ship of the burden of seven-score tunne, the other called the Bartholomew, a ship of the burden of ninetie, the third was the John Evangelist, a ship of seven score tunne. With the sayd ships and two pinnesses (whereof the one was drowned on the coast of England) we went forward on our voyage, and stayed at Dover fourteene dayes. We staid also at Rie three or foure dayes. Moreover last of all we touched at Dartmouth.

The first day of November at nine of the clocke at night, departing from the coast of England, we set off the Start, bearing Southwest all that night in the sea, and the next day all day, and the next night after, untill the third day of the said moneth about noone, making our way good, did runne threescore leagues.

The 17 day in the morning we had sight of the Ile

of Madera, which doth rise to him that commeth in the Northnortheast part upright land in the west part of it, and very high: and to the Southsoutheast a low long land, and a long point, with a saddle thorow the middest of it, standing in two and thirtie degrees: and in the West part, many springs of water running downe from the mountaine, and many white fieldes like unto corne fields, & some white houses to the Southeast part of it: and the toppe of the mountaine sheweth very ragged, if you may see it, and in the Northeast part there is a bight or bay as though it were a harborow: Also in the said part, there is a rocke a little distance from the shoare, and over the sayd bight you shall see a great gappe in the mountaine.

The 19 day at twelve of the clocke we had sight of the isle of Palmes and Teneriffa and the Canaries. The Ile of Palme, riseth round, & lieth Southeast and Northwest, and the Northwest part is lowest. In the South is a round hill over the head land, and another round hill above that in the land. There are betweene the Southeast part of the Ile of Madera & the Northwest part of the Ile of Palme seven and fifty leagues. This Isle of Palme lieth in eight and twenty degrees. And our course from Madera to the Ile of Palme was South and South and by West, so that we had sight of Teneriffa and of the Canaries. The Southeast part of the Ile of the Palme, & the Northnortheast of Teneriffa lie Southeast and Northwest, and betweene them are 20 leagues. Teneriffa and the great Canary called Gran Canaria, and the West part of Forteventura stande in seven and twenty degrees and a halfe. Gomera is a faire Island but very ragged, & lieth Westsouthwest off Teneriffa. And whosoever wil come betweene them two Ilands must come South and by East, and in the South part of Gomera is a towne and a good rode in the said part of the Iland: and it standeth in seven and twentie degrees and three terces. Teneriffa is an high land, with a great high pike like a sugar loafe, and upon the said pike is snow throughout all the whole yeere. And by reason of that pike it may be knowen above all other Ilands, and there we were becalmed the twentieth day of November, from sixe of the clocke in the morning, untill foure of the clocke at afternoone.

The two and twentieth day of November, under the Tropike of Cancer the Sunne goeth downe West and

by South. Upon the coast of Barbarie five and twentie leagues by North Cape blanke, at three leagues off the maine, there are fifteene fadomes and good shelly ground, and sande among and no streames, and two small Ilands standing in two and twentie degrees and a terce.

From Gomera to Cape de las Barbas is an hundred leagues, and our course was South and by East. The said Cape standeth in two and twentie and a halfe: and all that coast is flatte, sixteene or seventeene fadome deepe. Seven or eight leagues off from the river del Oro to Cape de las Barbas, there use many Spaniardes and Portugals to trade for fishing, during the moneth of November: and all that coast is very low lands. Also we went from Cape de las Barbas Southsouthwest, and Southwest and by South, till we brought our selves in twentie degrees and a halfe, reckoning our selves seven leagues off: and there were the least sholes of Cape Blanke.

Then we went South untill we brought our selves in 13 degrees, reckoning our selves five and twentie leagues off. And in 15 degrees we did reare the Crossiers, and we might have reared them sooner if we had looked for them. They are not right a crosse in the moneth of November, by reason that the nights are short there. Neverthesse we had the sight of them the 29 day of the said moneth at night.

The first of December, being in 13 degrees we set our course South and by East, untill the fourth day of December at 12 of the clocke the same day. Then we were in nine degrees and a terce, reckoning our selves 30 leagues off the sholes of the river called Rio Grande, being Westsouthwest off them, the which sholes be 30 leagues long.

The fourth of December we beganne to set our course Southeast, we being in sixe degrees and a halfe.

The ninth day of December we set our course East-southeast: the fourteenth day of the sayde moneth we set our course East, we being in five degrees and a halfe, reckoning our selves thirty and sixe leagues from the coast of Guinea.

The nineteenth of the said moneth we set our course East and by North, reckoning our selves seventeene leagues distant from Cape Mensurado, the said Cape

being Eastnortheast of us, and the river of Sesto being East.

The one and twentieth day of the said moneth, we fell with Cape Mensurado to the Southeast, about two leagues off. This Cape may be easily knowen, by reason y<sup>e</sup> the rising of it is like a Porpose-head. Also toward the Southeast there are three trees, whereof the Eastermost tree is the highest, and the middlemost is like a hie stacke, & the Southermost like unto a gibet: and upon the maine are foure or five high hilles rising one after another like round hommocks or hillocks. And the Southeast of the three trees, brandiernwise: and all the coast along is white sand. The said Cape standeth within a litle in sixe degrees.

The two and twentieth of December we came to the river of Sesto, & remained there untill the nine and twentieth day of the said moneth. Here we thought it best to send before us the pinnesse to the river Dulce, called Rio Dulce, that they might have the beginning of the market before the comming of the John Evangelist.

At the river of Sesto we had a tunne of graines. This river standeth in sixe degrees, lacking a terce. From the river of Sesto to Rio Dulce are five and twentie leagues. Rio Dulce standeth in five degrees and a halfe. The river of Sesto is easie to be knowen, by reason there is a ledge of rockes on the Southeast part of the Rode. And at the entring into the haven are five or sixe trees that beare no leaves. This is a good harborow, but very narrow at ye entrance into the river. There is also a rocke in the havens mouth right as you enter. And all that coast betweene Cape de Monte, and cape de las Palmas, lieth Southeast & by East, Northwest & by West, being three leagues off the shore. And you shal have in some places rocks two leagues off: and that, betweene the river of Sesto and cape de las Palmas.

Betweene the river of Sesto and the river Dulce are five and twentie leagues: & the high land that is betweene them both, is called Cakeado, being eight leagues from the river of Sesto. And to the Southeastwarde of it is a place called Shawgro, and an other called Shyawe or Shauo, where you may get fresh water. Off this Shyawe lieth a ledge of rockes: and to the Southeastward lieth a hedland called Croke. Betweene Cakeado and Croke are nine or ten leagues. To the Southeastward off, is



a harborow called S. Vincent: Right over against S. Vincent, is a rocke under the water, two leagues & a halfe off the shore. To the Southeastward of that rocke you shal see an island about three or foure leagues off: this island is not past a league off the shore. To the Eastsoutheast of the island is a rocke that lieth above the water, and by that rocke goeth in the river Dulce, which you shall know by the said river and rocke. The Northwest side of the haven is flat sand, and the Southeast side therof is like an Island, and a bare plot without any trees, and so is it not in any other place.

In the Rode you shall ride in thirteene or foureteene fadomes, good oaze and sand, being the markes of the Rode to bring the Island and the Northeast land together, and here we ankered the last of December.

The third day of Januarie, we came from the river Dulce.

Note that Cape de las Palmas is a faire high land, but some low places thereof by the water side looke like red cliffes with white strakes like hie wayes, a cable length a piece, and this is the East part of the cape. This cape is the Southermost land in all the coast of Guinea, and standeth in foure degrees and a terce.

The coast from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Trepointes, or de Tres Puntas, is faire & cleare without rocke or other danger.

Twentie and five leagues from Cape de las Palmas, the land is higher then in any place, untill we come to Cape Trepointes: And about ten leagues before you come to Cape Trepointes, the land riseth still higher and higher, untill you come to Cape Trepointes, Also before you come to the said Cape, after other 5 leagues to the Northwest part of it, there is certaine broken ground, with two great rockes, and within them in the bight of a bay, is a castle called Arra, pertaining to the king of Portugall. You shall know it by the said rockes that lie off it: for there is none such from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Trepointes. This coast lieth East and by North, West and by South. From Cape de las Palmas to the said castle is fourescore and fiteene leagues. And the coast lieth from the said castle to the Westernmost point of Trepoyntes, Southeast and by South, Northwest and by North. Also the Westernmost point of Trepoyntes is a low lande, lying halfe a mile out in the sea: and upon the innermost



necke, to the land-ward, is a tuft of trees, and there we arrived the eleventh day of January.

The 12 day of January we came to a towne called Samma or Samva, being 8 leagues from Cape Trepontes toward Eastnortheast. Betweene Cape Trepontes and the towne of Samva is a great ledge of rockes a great way out in the sea. We continued foure dayes at that Towne, and the Captaine thereof would needs have a pledge a shore. But when they received the pledge, they kept him still, and would traffike no more, but shot off their ordinance at us. They have two or three pieces of ordinance and no more.

The sixteenth day of the said month we made reckoning to come to a place called Cape Corea, where captaine Don John dwelleth, whose men entertained us friendly. This Cape Corea is foure leagues Eastwarde of the castle of Mina, otherwise called La mina, or Castello de mina, where we arrived the 18 day of the moneth. Here we made sale of all our cloth, saving two or three packes.

The 26 day of the same moneth we weighed anker, and departed from thence to the Trinitie, which was seven leagues Eastward of us, where she solde her wares. Then they of the Trinitie willed us to go Eastward of that eight or nine leagues, to sell part of their wares, in a place called Perecow, and another place named Perecow Grande, being the Eastermost place of both these, which you shal know by a great round hill neere unto it, named Monte Rodondo, lying Westward from it, and by the water side are many high palme trees. From hence did we set forth homeward the thirteenth day of February, & plied up alongst till we came within seven or eight leagues to Cape Trepontes. About eight of the clocke the 15 day at afternoone, wee did cast about to seaward: and beware of the currants, for they will deceive you sore. Whosoever shall come from the coast of Mina homeward, let him be sure to make his way good West, untill he reckon himselfe as farre as Cape de las Palmas, where the currant setteth alwayes to the Eastward. And within twentie leagues Eastward of Cape de las Palmas is a river called De los Potos, where you may have fresh water and balast enough, and plenty of ivory or Elephants teeth. This river standeth in foure degrees, and almost two terces. And when you reckon your selfe as farre shot as Cape de las Palmas, being in a degree, or a degree and a

halfe, you may go West, and West by North, untill you come in three degrees : and then you may go Westnorthwest, and Northwest and by West, untill you come in five degrees, and then Northwest. And in sixe degrees, we met Northerly windes, and great ruffling of tides. And as we could judge, the currants went to the Northnorthwest. Furthermore betweene Cape de Monte, and Cape Verde, go great currants, which deceive many men.

The 22 day of Aprill, we were in 8 degrees and two terces : and so we ran to the Northwest, having the winde at Northeast and Eastnortheast, and sometimes at East, untill we were at 18 degrees and a terce, which was on May day. And so from 18 and two terces, we had the winde at East and Eastnortheast, and sometimes at Eastsoutheast : and then we reckoned the Islands of Cape verde Eastsoutheast of us, we judging our selves to be 48 leagues off. And in 20 and 21 degrees, we had the winde more Easterly to the Southward then before. And so we ran to the Northwest and Northnorthwest, and sometimes North and by West and North, untill we came into 31 degrees, where we reckoned our selves a hundred and fourescore leagues Southwest and by South of the Island de los Flores, and there wee met with the winde at Southsoutheast, and set our course Northeast.

In 23 degrees we had the winde at the South and Southwest, and then we set our course Northnortheast, and so we ran to 40 degrees, and then we set our course Northeast, the winde being at the Southwest, and having the Isle de Flores East of us, and 17 leagues off.

In the 41 degrees we met with the winde at Northeast, and so we ran Northwestward, then we met with the winde Westnorthwest, and at the West within 6 leagues, running toward the Northwest, and then we cast about, and lay Northeast, untill we came in 42 degrees, where we set our course Eastnortheast, judging the Ile of Corvo South and by West of us, and sixe and thirtie leagues distant from us.

A remembrance, that the 21 day of May we communed with John Rafe, and he thought it best to goe Northeast, and judged himselfe 25 leagues Eastward to the Isle de Flores, and in 39 degrees and a halfe.

Note, that on the fourth day of September, under nine degrees, we lost the sight of the North starre.

Note also, that in 45 degrees, the compasse is varied 8 degrees to the West.

Item, in 40 degrees the compasse did varie 15 degrees in the whole.

Item, in 30 degrees and a halfe, the compasse is varied 5 degrees to the West.

Be it also in memory that two or three daies before we came to Cape de 3 puntas, the pinnesse went alongst the shore, thinking to sell some of our wares, and so we came to anker three or foure leagues West and by South of the Cape de 3 puntas, where we left the Trinitie.

Then our pinnesse came aboard with all our men, the pinnesse also tooke in more wares. They told me moreover that they would goe to a place where the Primrose was, and had received much gold at the first voyage to these parties, and tolde me furthermore that it was a good place: but I fearing a brigantine that was then upon the coast, did wey and follow them, and left the Trinitie about foure leagues off from us, and there we rode against that towne foure dayes: so that Martine by his owne desire, and assent of some of the Commissioners that were in the pinnesse, went a shoare to the towne, and there John Berin went to trafique from us, being three miles off trafiquing at an other towne. The towne is called Samma or Samva, for Samma and Sammaterra, are the names of the two first townes, where we did trafique for gold, to the Northeast of Cape de 3 puntas.

Hitherto continueth the course of the voyage, as it was described by the sayde Pilot. Nowe therefore I will speake somewhat of the countrey and people, and of such things as are brought from thence.

They brought from thence at the last voiage foure hundred pound weight and odde of gold, of two and twentie carrats and one graine in finenesse: also sixe and thirtie butts of graines, & about two hundred and fifty Elephants teeth of all quantities. Of these I saw & measured some of nine spans in length, as they were crooked. Some of them were as bigge as a mans thigh above the knee, and weyed about fourescore and ten pound weight a peece. They say that some one hath bin seene of an hundred and five & twentie pound weight. Other there were which they call the teeth of calves, of one or two or three yeeres, whereof some were a foot and a halfe, some two foot, and some 3 or more, according to

ye age of the beast. These great teeth or tusks grow in the upper jaw downward, and not in the nether jaw upward, wherein the Painters and Arras workers are deceived. At this last voyage was brought from Guinea the head of an Elephant, of such huge bignesse, that onely the bones or cranew thereof, beside the nether jaw & great tusks, weighed about two hundred weight, and was as much as I could well lift from the ground: insomuch that considering also herewith the weight of two such great teeth, the nether jaw with the lesse teeth, the tongue, the great hanging eares, the bigge & long snout or tronke, with all the flesh, braines, and skinne, with all other parts belonging to the whole head, in my judgement it could weigh litle lesse then five hundred weight. This head divers have seene in the house of the worthy marchant sir Andrew Judde, where also I saw it, and beheld it, not onely with my bodily eyes, but much more with the eyes of my mind and spirit, considering by the worke, the cunning and wisdom of the workemaister: without which consideration, the sight of such strange and wonderfull things may rather seeme curiosities, then profitable contemplations.

The Elephant (which some call an Oliphant) is the biggest of all foure footed beasts, his forelegs are longer then his hinder, he hath ancles in the lower part of his hinder legges, and five toes on his feete undivided, his snout or tronke is so long, and in such forme, that it is to him in the stead of a hand: for he neither eateth nor drinketh but by bringing his tronke to his mouth, therewith he helpeth up his Master or keeper, therewith he overthroweth trees. Beside his two great tusks, he hath on every side of his mouth foure teeth, wherewith he eateth and grindeth his meate: either of these teeth are almost a span in length, as they grow along in the jaw, and are about two inches in height, and almost as much in thicknesse. The tuskes of the male are greater then of the female: his tongue is very litle, and so farre in his mouth, that it cannot be seene: of all beastes they are most gentle and tractable, for by many sundry wayes they are taught, and doe understand: insomuch that they learne to doe due honor to a king, and are of quicke sense and sharpenesse of wit. When the male hath once seasoned the female, he never after toucheth her. The male Elephant liveth two hundreth yeeres, or at the least

one hundred and twentie: the female almost as long, but the floure of their age is but threescore yeres, as some write. They cannot suffer winter or cold: they love rivers, and will often go into them up to the snout, wherewith they blow and snuffe, and play in the water: but swimme they cannot, for the weight of their bodies. Plinie and Soline write, that they use none adulterie. If they happen to meete with a man in wilderness being out of the way, gently they wil go before him, & bring him into the plaine way. Joyned in battel, they have no small respect unto them that be wounded: for they bring them that are hurt or weary into the middle of the army to be defended: they are made tame by drinking the juise of barley. They have continual warre against Dragons, which desire their blood, because it is very cold: and therefore the Dragon lying awaite as the Elephant passeth by, windeth his taile (being of exceeding length, about the hinder legs of the Elephant, & so staying him, thrusteth his head into his tronke and exhausteth his breath, or else biteth him in the eare, wherunto he cannot reach with his tronke, and when the Elephant waxeth faint, he falleth downe on the serpent, being now full of blood, and with the poise of his body breaketh him: so that his owne blood with the blood of the Elephant runneth out of him mingled together, which being colde, is congealed into that substance which the Apothecaries call Sanguis Draconis, (that is) Dragons blood, otherwise called Cinnabaris, although there be an other kinde of Cinnabaris, commonly called Cinoper or Vermilion, which the Painters use in certaine colours.

They are also of three kinds, as of the Marshes, the plaines, and the mountaines, no lesse differing in conditions. Philostratus writeth, that as much as the Elephant of Libya in bignes passeth the horse of Nysea, so much doe the Elephants of India exceed them of Libya: for the Elephants of India, some have bene seene of the height of nine cubits: the other do so greatly feare these, that they dare not abide the sight of them. Of the Indian Elephants onely the males have tuskes, but of them of Ethiopia and Libya both kindes are tusked: they are of divers heights, as of twelve, thirteene; and fourteene dodrants, every dodrant being a measure of nine inches. Some write that an Elephant is bigger then three wilde Oxen or Buffes. They of India are black, or of ye colour

of a mouse, but they of Ethiope or Guinea are browne: the hide or skinne of them all is very hard, and without haire or bristles: their eares are two dodrants broad, and their eyes very litle. Our men saw one drinking at a river in Guinea, as they sailed into the land.

Of other properties & conditions of the Elephant, as of their marvellous docilitie, of their fight and use in the warres, of their generation and chastitie, when they were first seene in the Theaters and triumphes of the Romanes, how they are taken & tamed, and when they cast their tusks, with the use of the same in medicine, who so desireth to know, let him reade Plinie, in the eight booke of his naturall history. He also writeth in his twelft booke, that in olde time they made many goodly workes of ivory or Elephants teeth: as tables, tressels, postes of houses, railes, lattesses for windowes, images of their gods, and divers other things of ivory, both coloured and uncoloured, and intermixt with sundry kindes of precious woods, as at this day are made certaine chaires, lutes, and virginals. They had such plenty thereof in olde time, that (as far as I remember) Josephus writeth, that one of the gates of Hierusalem was called Porta Eburnea, (that is) the Ivory gate. The whitenesse thereof was so much esteemed, that it was thought to represent the natural fairnesse of mans skinne: insomuch that such as went about to set foorth (or rather corrupt) naturall beautie with colours and painting, were reproved by this proverbe, Ebur atramento candefacere, that is, To make ivory white with inke. The Poets also describing the faire necks of beautifull virgins, call them Eburnea colla, that is, Ivory necks. And to have said thus much of Elephants and Ivory, it may suffice.

Now therefore I will speake somewhat of the people and their maners, and maner of living, with an other brieve description of Africa also. It is to be understood, that the people which now inhabite the regions of the coast of Guinea, and the midle parts of Africa, as Libya the inner, and Nubia, with divers other great & large regions about the same, were in old time called Æthiopes and Nigritæ, which we now call Moores, Moorens, or Negroes, a people of beastly living, without a God, lawe, religion, or common wealth, and so scorched and vexed with the heat of the sunne, that in many places they curse it when it riseth. Of the regions and people about the



inner Libya (called Libya interior) Gemma Phrysius writeth thus.

Libya interior is very large and desolate, in the which are many horrible wildernesses & mountaines, replenished with divers kinds of wilde and monstrous beastes and serpents. First from Mauritania or Barbary toward the South is Getulia, a rough and savage region, whose inhabitants are wilde and wandering people. After these follow the people called Melanogetuli and Pharusii, which wander in the wilderness, carrying with them great gourdes of water. The Ethiopians called Nigritæ occupy a great part of Africa, and are extended to the West Ocean. Southward also they reach to the river Nigritis, whose nature agreeth with the river of Nilus, forasmuch as it is increased and diminished at the same time, and bringeth forth the like beastes as the Crocodile. By reason whereof, I thinke this to be the same river which the Portugals call Senega: For this river is also of the same nature. It is furthermore marvellous and very strange that is said of this river: And this is, that on the one side thereof, the inhabitants are of high stature and black, and on the other side, of browne or tawnie colour, and low stature, which thing also our men confirme to be true.

There are also other people of Libya called Garamantes, whose women are common: for they contract no matrimonie, neither have respect to chastitie. After these are the nations of the people called Pyrei, Sathiodaphnitæ, Odrangi, Mimaces, Lynxamatæ, Dolopes, Aganginæ, Leuci Ethiopes, Xilicei Ethiopes, Calcei Ethiopes, and Nubi. These have the same situation in Ptolome that they now give to the kingdome of Nubia. Here are certaine Christians under the dominion of the great Emperour of Æthiopia, called Prester John. From these toward the West is a great nation of people called Aphricerones, whose region (as farre as may be gathered by conjecture) is the same that is now called Regnum Orguene, confining upon the East parts of Guinea. From hence Westward, and somewhat toward the North, are the kingdoms of Gambra and Budomel, not farre from the river of Senega. And from hence toward the inland regions, and along by the sea coast, are the regions of Ginoia or Guinea, which we commonly call Ginnee. On the Westside of these regions toward the Ocean, is



the cape or point called Cabo verde, or Caput viride, (that is) the greene cape, to the which the Portugals first direct their course when they saile to America, or the land of Brasile. Then departing from hence, they turne to the right hand toward the quarter of the winde called Garbino, which is betweene the West and the South. But to speake somewhat more of Æthiopia: although there are many nations of people so named, yet is Aethiopia chiefly divided into two parts, whereof the one is called Aethiopia under Aegypt, a great & rich region. To this pertaineth the Island Meroe, imbraced round about with the stremes of the river Nilus. In this Island women reigned in old time. Josephus writeth, that it was sometime called Sabea: and that the Queene of Saba came from thence to Jerusalem, to heare the wisdom of Salomon. From hence toward the East reigneth the said Christian Emperor Prester John, whom some cal Papa Johannes, & other say that he is called Pean Juan (that is) great John, whose Empire reacheth far beyond Nilus, and is extended to the coasts of the Red sea & Indian sea. The middle of the region is almost in 66. degrees of longitude, and 12. degrees of latitude. About this region inhabite the people called Clodi, Risophagi, Babylonii, Axiunitæ, Molili, and Molibæ. After these is the region called Troglodytica, whose inhabitants dwel in caves and dennes: for these are their houses, & the flesh of serpents their meat, as writeth Plinie, and Diodorus Siculus. They have no speech, but rather a grinning and chattering. There are also people without heads, called Blemines, having their eyes and mouth in their breast. Likewise Strucophagi, and naked Ganphasantes: Satyrs also, which have nothing of men but onely shape. Moreover Oripei, great hunters. Mennones also, and the region of Smyrnophora, which bringeth forth myrrhe. After these is the region of Azania, in the which many Elephants are found. A great part of the other regions of Africke that are beyond the Aequinoctiall line, are now ascribed to the kingdome of Melinde, whose inhabitants are accustomed to trafique with the nations of Arabia, and their king is joyned in friendship with the king of Portugal, and payeth tribute to Prester John.

The other Ethiope, called Æthiopia interior (that is) the inner Ethiope, is not yet knowne for the greatnesse thereof, but onely by the sea coastes: yet is it described

in this maner. First from the Aequinoctiall toward ye South, is a great region of Aethiopians, which bringeth forth white Elephants, Tygers, and the beastes called Rhinocerotes. Also a region that bringeth forth plenty of cynamome, lying betweene the branches of Nilus. Also the kingdome of Habech or Habasia, a region of Christian men, lying both on this side and beyond Nilus. Here are also the Aethiopians, called Ichthiophagi (that is) such as live onely by fish, and were sometimes subdued by the warres of great Alexander. Furthermore the Aethiopians called Rhapsii, & Anthropophagi, y<sup>t</sup> are accustomed to eat mans flesh, inhabite the regions neere unto the mountains called Montes Lunæ (that is) the mountaines of the Moone. Gazatia is under the Tropike of Capricorne. After this followeth the front of Afrike, the Cape of Buena Speranza, or Caput Bonæ Spei, that is, the Cape of good hope, by the which they passe that saile from Lisbon to Calicut. But by what names the Capes and gulfes are called, forasmuch as the same are in every globe and card, it were here superfluous to rehearse them.

Some write that Africa was so named by the Grecians, because it is without colde. For the Greeke letter Alpha or A signifieth privation, voyd, or without: and Phrice signifieth colde. For in deed although in the stead of Winter they have a cloudy and tempestuous season, yet is it not colde, but rather smothering hote, with hote showres of raine also, and somewhere such scorching windes, that what by one meanes and other, they seeme at certaine times to live as it were in fornaces, and in maner already halfe way in Purgatorie or hell. Gemma Phrisius writeth, that in certaine parts of Africa, as in Atlas the greater, the aire in the night season is seene shining, with many strange fires and flames rising in maner as high as the Moone: and that in the element are sometime heard as it were the sound of pipes, trumpets and drummes: which noises may perhaps be caused by the vehement and sundry motions of such fire exhalations in the aire, as we see the like in many experiences wrought by fire, aire and winde. The hollownesse also, and divers reflexions and breaking of the cloudes may be great causes hereof, beside the vehement colde of the middle region of the aire, whereby the said fiery exhalations, ascending thither, are suddenly stricken backe with great force: for even common and dayly experience

teacheth us, by the whissing of a burning torch, what noise fire maketh in the aire, and much more where it striveth when it is inclosed with aire, as appeareth in gunnes, and as the like is seene in onely aire inclosed, as in Organ pipes, and such other instruments that go by winde. For winde (as say the Philosophers) is none other then aire vehemently moved, as we see in a paire of bellowes, and such other.

Some of our men of good credit that were in this last voiage to Guinea, affirme earnestly that in the night season they felt a sensible heat to come from the beames of the moone. The which thing, although it be strange and insensible to us that inhabite cold regions, yet doeth it stand with good reason that it may so be, forasmuch as the nature of starres and planets (as writeth Plinie) consisteth of fire, and conteineth in it a spirit of life, which cannot be without heat.

And, that the Moone giveth heate upon the earth the Prophet David seemeth to confirme in his 121. Psalme, where speaking of such men as are defended from evils by Gods protection, hee saith thus: *Per diem Sol non exuret te, nec Luna per noctem.* That is to say, In the day the Sunne shall not burne thee, nor the Moone by night.

They say furthermore, that in certaine places of the sea they saw certaine streames of water, which they call spouts, falling out of the aire into the sea, & that some of these are as bigge as the great pillars of Churches: insomuch that sometimes they fall into shippes, and put them in great danger of drowning. Some faine that these should be the Cataracts of heaven, which were all opened at Noes floud. But I thinke them rather to be such fluxions and eruptions as Aristotle in his booke de Mundo saith, to chance in the sea. For speaking of such strange things as are seene often times in the sea, he writeth thus. Oftentimes also even in the sea are seene evaporations of fire, and such eruptions and breaking foorth of springs, that the mouthes of rivers are opened. Whirlepooles, and fluxions are caused of such other vehement motions, not only in the midst of the sea, but also in creeks & streights. At certaine times also, a great quantity of water is suddenly lifted up and carried about with the Moone, &c. By which wordes of Aristotle it doth appeare that such waters be lifted up in

one place at one time, and suddenly fall downe in an other place at another time. And hereunto perhaps pertaineth it that Richard Chancellor told me that he heard Sebastian Cabot report, that (as farre as I remember) either about the coasts of Brasile or Rio de Plata, his shippe or pinnesse was suddenly lifted from the sea, and cast upon land, I wot not howe farre. The which thing, and such other like wonderfull and strange workes of nature while I consider, and call to remembrance the narrownesse of mans understanding and knowledge, in comparison of her mightie power, I can but cease to marvell and confesse with Plinie, that nothing is to her impossible, the least part of whose power is not yet knowen to men. Many things more our men saw and considered in this voyage, woorthy to be noted, whereof I have thought good to put some in memory, that the reader may aswell take pleasure in the variety of things, as knowledge of the historie. Among other things therefore, touching the maners and nature of the people, this may seeme strange, that their princes & noble men use to pounce and rase their skinnes with pretie knots in divers formes, as it were branched damaske, thinking that to be a decent ornament. And albeit they goe in maner all naked, yet are many of them, & especialy their women, in maner laden with collars, bracelets, hoopes, and chaines, either of gold, copper, or ivory. I my selfe have one of their braslets of Ivory, weighing two pound and sixe ounces of Troy weight, which make eight and thirtie ounces: this one of their women did weare upon her arme. It is made of one whole piece of the biggest part of the tooth, turned and somewhat carved, with a hole in the midst, wherin they put their hands to weare it on their arme. Some have on every arme one, and as many on their legges, wherewith some of them are so galled, that although they are in maner made lame thereby, yet will they by no meanes leave them off. Some weare also on their legges great shackles of bright copper, which they thinke to bee no lesse comely. They weare also collars, bracelets, garlands, and girdles, of certain blew stones like beads. Likewise some of their women weare on their bare armes certaine foresleeves made of the plates of beaten golde. On their fingers also they weare rings, made of golden wires, with a knot or wreath, like unto that which children make in a ring of a rush. Among

other things of golde that our men bought of them for exchange of their wares, were certaine dog-chaines and collers.

They are very wary people in their bargaining, and will not lose one sparke of golde of any value. They use weights and measures, and are very circumspect in occupying the same. They that shall have to doe with them, must use them gently: for they will not trafique or bring in any wares if they be evill used. At the first voyage that our men had into these parties, it so chanced, that at their departure from the first place where they did traffick, one of them either stole a muske Cat, or tooke her away by force, not mistrusting that that should have hindered their bargaining in another place whither they intended to goe. But for all the haste they coulede make with full sailes, the fame of their misusage so prevented them, that the people of that place also, offended thereby, would bring in no wares: insomuch that they were inforced either to restore the Cat, or pay for her at their price, before they could trafique there.

Their houses are made of foure postes or trees, and covered with boughes.

Their common feeding is of roots, & such fishes as they take, whereof they have great plenty.

There are also such flying fishes as are seene in the sea of the West Indies. Our men salted of their fishes, hoping to provide store thereof: but they would take no salt, and must therfore be eaten forthwith as some say. Howbeit other affirme, that if they be salted immediatly after they be taken, they wil last uncorrupted ten or twelve dayes. But this is more strange, that part of such flesh as they caried with them out of England, which putrified there, became sweete againe at their returne to the clime of temperate regions.

They use also a strange making of bread, in this maner. They grinde betweene two stones with their handes as much corne as they thinke may suffice their family, and when they have thus brought it to floure, they put thereto a certaine quantitie of water, and make thereof very thinne dough, which they sticke upon some post of their houses, where it is baked by the heate of the Sunne: so that when the master of the house or any of his family will eate thereof, they take it downe and eate it.

They have very faire wheate, the eare whereof is two

handfuls in length, and as bigge as a great Bulrush, and almost foure inches about where it is biggest. The stemme or straw seemeth to be almost as bigge as the litle finger of a mans hand, or litle lesse. The graines of this wheate are as big as our peason, round also, and very white, and somewhat shining, like pearles that have lost their colour. Almost all the substance of them turneth into floure, & maketh litle bran or none. I told in one eare two hundred & threescore graines. The eare is inclosed in three blades longer then it selfe, & of two inches broad a piece. And by this fruitfulness the Sunne seemeth partly to recompence such griefes and molestations as they otherwise receive by the fervent heate thereof. It is doubtlesse a worthy contemplation to consider the contrary effects of the sunne: or rather the contrary passions of such things as receive the influence of his beames, either to their hurt or benefit. Their drinke is either water, or the juisse that droppeth from the cut branches of the barren Date trees, called Palmitos. For either they hang great gourdes at the said branches every evening, and let them so hang all night, or else they set them on the ground under the trees, that the droppes may fall therein. They say that this kinde of drinke is in taste much like unto whey, but somewhat sweeter, and more pleasant. They cut the branches every evening, because they are seared up in the day by the heate of the Sunne. They have also great beanes as bigge as chestnuts, and very hard, with a shell in the stead of a huske.

Many things more might be saide of the maners of the people, and of the wonders and monstrous things that are engendred in Africke. But it shall suffice to have saide thus much of such things as our men partly sawe, and partly brought with them.

And whereas before speaking of the fruit of graines, I described the same to have holes by the side (as in deede it hath, as it is brought hither) yet was I afterward enfourmed, that those holes were made to put stringes or twigges through the fruite, thereby to hang them up to dry at the Sunne. They grow not past a foote and a halfe, or two foote from the ground, and are as red as blood when they are gathered. The graines themselves are called of the Phisicians Grana Paradisi.

At their comming home the keeles of their shippes



were marveilously overgrowne with certaine shelles of two inches length and more, as thicke as they could stand, and of such bignesse that a man might put his thumbe in the mouthes of them. They certainly affirme that in these there groweth a certaine slimie substance, which at the length slipping out of the shell and falling in the sea, becommeth those foules which we call Barnacles. The like shelles have bene seene in ships returning from Iseland, but these shels were not past halfe an inch in length. Of the other that came from Guinea, I sawe the Primerose lying in the docke, and in maner covered with the said shels, which in my judgement should greatly hinder her sayling. Their ships were also in many places eaten with the wormes called Bromas or Bissas, whereof mention is made in the Decades. These creepe betweene the planks, which they eate through in many places.

Among other things that chanced to them in this voyage, this is worthy to be noted, that wheras they sailed thither in seven weekes, they could returne in no lesse space then twentie weekes. The cause whereof they say to be this: That about the coast of Cabo Verde the winde is ever at the East, by reason whereof they were enforced to saile farre out of their course into the maine Ocean, to finde the winde at the West to bring them home. There died of our men at this last voyage about twentie and foure, whereof many died at their returne into the clime of the colde regions, as betweene the Islands of Azores and England. They brought with them certaine blacke slaves, whereof some were tall and strong men, and could wel agree with our meates and drinkes. The colde and moyst aire doth somewhat offend them. Yet doubtlesse men that are borne in hot Regions may better abide colde, then men that are borne in colde Regions may abide heate, forasmuch as vehement heate resolveth the radicall moysture of mens bodies, as colde constraineth and preserveth the same.

This is also to be considered as a secret worke of nature, that throughout all Africke, under the Æquinoctial line, and neere about the same on both sides, the regions are extreeme hote, and the people very blacke. Whereas contrarily such regions of the West Indies as are under the same line are very temperate, and the people neither blacke, nor with curlde and short wooll on their



heads, as they of Africke have, but of the colour of an Olive, with long and blacke heare on their heads: the cause of which variety is declared in divers places in the Decades.

It is also worthy to be noted that some of them that were at this voyage told me: That is, that they overtooke the course of the Sunne, so that they had it North from them at noone, the 14. day of March. And to have said thus much of these voyages, it may suffice.

The first voyage made by Master William Towrson Marchant of London, to the coast of Guinea, with two Ships, in the yeere 1555.

UPON Munday the thirtieth day of September wee departed from the Isle of Wight, out of the haven of Neuport with two good shippes, the one called the Hart, the other the Hinde, both of London, and the Masters of them were John Ralph, and William Carter, for a voyage to bee made unto the River de Sestos in Guinea, and to other havens thereabout.

It fell out by the varietie of windes, that it was the foureteenth day of October before wee coulde fetch Dartmouth: and being there arrived wee continued in that roade sixe dayes, and the 20. of October we warpt out of the haven, and set saile, directing our course towards the Southwest, and the next morning we were runne by estimation thirty leagues.

The first of November we found ourselves to be in 31. degrees of latitude by the reckoning of our Master. This day we ranne about 40. leagues also.

The second day we ranne 36. leagues.

The third day we had sight of Porto Santo, which is a small Island lying in the sea, about three leagues long, and a league & a halfe broad, & is possessed by Portugals. It riseth as we came from the Northnorthwest like two small hilles neere together. The East end of the same Island is a high land like a saddle with a valley, which makes it to beare that forme. The West ende of it is lower with certaine small round hillocks. This Island lyeth in thirty and three degrees. The same day at 11. of the clocke we raysed the Isle of Madera, which lieth 12. leagues from Porto Santo, towards the Southwest: that Island is a faire Island and fruitfull, and is inhabited by Portugals, it riseth afarre off like a great

whole land and high. By three of the clocke this day at after noone we were thwart of Porto Santo, and we set our course Southwest, to leave the Isle of Madera to the Eastward, as we did Porto Santo. These two Islands were the first land that we saw since wee left the coast of England. About three of the clocke after midnight wee were thwart of Madera, within three leagues of the West ende of it, and by meanes of the high hilles there, we were becalmed: We suppose we ranne this day and night 30. leagues.

The fourth day wee lay becalmed under the Isle of Madera, untill one of the clocke at afternoone, and then, the winde comming into the East, wee went our course, and ranne that day fifteene leagues.

The 5. day we ranne 15. leagues more.

The 6. day in the morning we raysed the Isle of Tenerif, otherwise called the Pike, because it is a very high Island, with a pike upon the top like a loafe of suger. The same night we raised the Isle of Palma, which is a high land also, and to the Westward of the Isle of Tenerif.

The 7. day we perceived the Isle of Gomera, which is an Island standing betwixt Tenerif and Palma, about 12. leagues Eastward from Palma, and 8. leagues Westward from Tenerif: and for feare of being becalmed with the Isle of Tenerif, we left both it, and Gomera to the Eastward of us, and went betwixt Palma and Gomera. We ranne this day and night 30. leagues.

Note that these Islands be 60. leagues from Madera, and that there are 3. Islands more to the Westward of Tenerif, named the Grand Canaria, Forte-ventura, & Lancerot, of which Islands we came not in sight: they be inhabited by Spaniards.

This day also we had sight of the Isle of Ferro, which is to the Southwards 13. leagues from the other Islands, and is possessed by Spaniards. All this day and night by reason of the winde we could not double the point of the Isle of Ferro, except we would have gone to the Westward of it, which had bene much out of our course: therefore we kept about, and ranne backe five houres Eastnortheast to the ende we might double it upon the next boord, the winde continuing Southeast, which hath not bene often seene upon that coast by any travellers: for the winde continueth there for the most part Northeast,

& East Northeast: so upon the other boord by the next morning we were in a maner with the Island, and had roome ynough to double the same.

The 8. day we kept our course as neere the winde as wee could, because that our due course to fetch the coast of Barbary was Southeast and by East, but by the scant winde wee could not goe our due course, but went as neere it as we could, and ranne this day and night 25. leagues.

The 9. day we ranne 30. leagues, the 10. 25. leagues, the 12. 24.

The 12. day we sawe a saile under our Lee, which was as we thought a fisherman, so that wee went roome to have spoken with him, but within one houre there fell such a fogge, that wee could not see the shippe nor one of us the other: we shot off divers pieces to the Hinde, but she heard them not: at after noone she shot off a piece which wee heard, and made her answeare with another: and within one halfe houre after the fogge brake up, and we were within 4. leagues of the shoare upon the coast of Barbary, and wee sounded and had 14. fadom water. The Barke also came roome with us and there ankered by reason of the contrary winde. When we fell with the land, we could not judge justly what part of the land it was, because the most part of that coast is lowe land, and no part to be judged of it but the forepart of the shoare, which is white like chalke or sand, and very deepe unto the hard shoare: there immediatly we began to fish, and found great store of a kinde of fish which the Portugals commonly fish for upon that coast, which they cal Pergosses, the Frenchmen call them Sadars, and our men salt-water bréames. Before the clearing up of the fogge, the shippe which we followed shaped us such a course that we could see her no more, by reason of our shooting off to finde the Hinde againe. This part of the coast of Barbary, by our Pilots reckoning, is about 16. leagues to the Eastwards of the river del Oro.

The 13. day in the afternoone wee spyed a saile coming towards us, which wee judged to be the saile that wee sawe the day before, and as soone as we spied him, wee caused the Hinde to way her ancre and to goe towards him, and manned out our Skiffe in like case to lay him aboorde, or to discerne what hee was, and wee

our selves within halfe an houre after wayed also: but after the saile had espied us, hee kept about, and turned backe againe, and shortly after there fell such another fogge, that wee coulde not see him: which fogges continued all that night, so that we were constrained to leave the chase. This afternoone the winde came about, and wee went our course Southwest and by West, to goe cleare off the coast, wee ranne that night sixteene leagues.

The foureteenth day in the morning was very foggie: but about twelve a clocke wee espied a Carvell of 60. tunne which was fishing, and we sent our Skiffe to him with five men, and all without any weapon saving their Oares. The Carvell for haste let slippe her ancre, and set saile; and they seeing that, fearing that they should not fetch her, would tary for no weapons, and in the ende overtooke the Carvell, and made her to strike saile, and brought her away, although they had foureteene or fifteene men aboard, & every man his weapon, but they had not the hearts to resist our men. After they were come to us, they let fall their ancre, for wee had cast ancre because the winde was not good: I caused then the Skiffe to come for mee, and I went aboorde of them to see that no harme should bee done to them, nor to take any thing but that which they might spare us for our money. So we tooke of them 3. Tapnets of figges, two small pots of oyle, two pipes of water, foure hogs-heads of saltfish which they had taken upon the coast, and certaine fresh fish which they did not esteeme, because there is such store upon that coast, that in an houre and sometime lesse, a man may take as much fish as will serve twentie men a day. For these things, and for some wine which wee dranke aboorde of them, and three or foure great Cannes which they sent aboard of our shippes, I payed them twentie and seven Pistolets, which was twice as much as they willingly would have taken: and so let them goe to their ancre and cable which they had let slippe, and got it againe by our helpe. After this wee set saile, but the winde caused us to ancre againe about twelve leagues off the river del Oro, as the Portugals tolde us. There were five Carvels more in this place, but when they sawe us, they made all away for feare of us.

The 15. day we ridde still because of the winde.

The 16. day we set saile and ranne our course 40.

leagues. This day, by the reckoning of our Pilots, we were right under the Tropike of Cancer. The 17. day we ranne 25. leagues within sight for the most part of the coast of Barbary.

The 18. day wee ranne thirtie leagues, and at twelve of the clocke by the reckoning of our Pilots we were thwart of Cape Blanke.

The 22. day our Pilots reckoned us to be thwart Cape Verde.

The 12. day of December we had sight of land of Guinea, which as soone as we saw we halled into the land Northeast, and about 12. of the clocke at night we were neere the shoare within lesse then 2. leagues: and then we kept about and sounded, and found 18. fadom water. Afterwards we saw a light towards the shoare, which we thought to have bene a ship, and thereby judged it to be the river de Sestos, which light as soone as we espied, we came to an anker & armed our tops, and made all things ready to fight, because we doubted that it might be some Portugal or French man: this night we remained at an anker, but in the morning we saw no man, only we espied 4. rockes about 2. English miles from us, one great rocke, and the 3. other smal ones, which when we sawe, we supposed that the light came from the shore, and so wayed and set saile East Southeast along the shoare, because the Master did not well know the place, but thought that we were not so farre to the East as the river de Sestos.

This land all a long is a low land, and full of very high trees all along the shoare, so that it is not possible to know the place that a man doth fall withall, except it be by the latitude: In these 24. houres I thinke we ran 16. leagues, for all the night we had a great gale as we were under saile, and had withall store of thunder and lightnings.

The 13. day for the most part we ran East Southeast all along the shoare, within two leagues alwayes of the same, and found the land all as at the first, ful of woods and great rocks hard aboard the shoare, and the billow beating so sore, that the seas brake upon the shoare as white as snow, and the water mounted so high that a man might easily discerne it 4. leagues off, in such wise that no boate could land there. Thus we ran until 12. of the clocke, and then they tooke the Sunne and after

judged themselves to be 24. leagues past the river de Sestos to the Eastwards, by reason whereof we halled into the shoare within two English miles, and there ancred and found fiteene fadom water, and all off from the shoare the sea so smooth, that we might wel have rid by an Hawser. All that after-noone we trimmed our boate and made her a saile, to the ende that she might go along by the shoore to seeke some place to water in: for wee could not goe backe againe to the river de Sestos, because the winde blowes alwayes contrary, and the Currant runneth alwayes to the Eastwards, which was also against us.

The 14. day we set saile & went back againe along the coast, and sent our boats hard aboard the shoare to seeke a watering place, which they found about 12. of the clock, and we being farre into the sea, met with divers boats of the Countrey, small, long and narrow, & in every boate one man and no more: we gave them bread which they did eat, & were very glad of it. About 4 of the clocke our boats came to us with fresh water: and this night we ankered against a River.

The 15. day we wayed and set saile to goe neere the shoare, and with our leade wee sounded all the way, and found sometimes rockes, and sometimes faire ground, and at the shallowest found 7. fadoms alwayes at the least. So in fine we found 7. fadom and a halfe within an English mile of the shoare, and there we ankered in a maner before the mouth of the River, and then wee sent our boats into the River for water, which went about a mile within the River, where they had very good water. This River lieth by estimation 8. leagues beyond the River de Sestos, and is called in the Carde River S. Vincent, but it is so hard to finde, that a boat being within halfe a mile of it shall not be able to discerne that it is a River: by reason that directly before the mouth of it there lyeth a ledge of rockes, which is much broader then the River, so that a boate must runne in along the shoare a good way betwixt the rockes and the shoare before it come to the mouth of the River, and being within it, it is a great River and divers other Rivers fall into it: The going into it is somewhat ill, because that at the entring the seas do goe somewhat high, but being once within it, it is as calme as the Thames.

There are neere to the Sea upon this River divers



inhabitants, which are mighty bigge men and go al naked except some thing before their privie parts, which is like a clout about a quarter of a yard long made of the barke of trees, and yet it is like a cloth: for the barke is of that nature, that it will spin small after the maner of linnen. Some of them also weare the like upon their heades being painted with divers colours, but the most part of them go bare headed, and their heads are clipped and shorne of divers sorts, and the most part of them have their skin of their bodies raced with divers workes, in maner of a leather Jerkin. The men and women goe so alike, that one cannot know a man from a woman but by their breastes, which in the most part be very foule and long, hanging downe low like the udder of a goate.

The same morning we went into the River with our Skiffe, and caried certaine basons, manels, &c. And there we tooke that day one hogs-head and 100. li. waight of Graines, and two Elephants teeth at a reasonable good reckoning. Wee solde them both basons, and Manelios, and Margarits, but they desired most to have basons: For the most part of our basons wee had by estimation about 30. li. for a piece, and for an Elephants tooth of 30. li. waight, we gave them 6.

The 16. day in the morning we went into the river with our Skiffe, and tooke some of every sort of our marchandize with us, and shewed it to the Negroes, but they esteemed it not, but made light of it, and also of the basons, Manellios and Margarits, which yesterday they did buy: howbeit for the basons they would have given us some graines, but to no purpose, so that this day wee tooke not by estimation above one hundreth pound waight of Graines, by meanes of their Captaine, who would suffer no man to sell any thing but through his hands, and at his price: he was so subtile, that for a bason hee would not give 15. pound waight of Graines, and sometimes would offer us small dishfuls, whereas before wee had baskets full, and when he saw that wee would not take them in contentment, the Captaine departed, and caused all the rest of the boates to depart, thinking belike that wee would have followed them, and have given them their owne askings. But after that wee perceived their fetch, wee wayed our Grapnel and went away, and then wee went on land into a small Towne to see the fashions of the Countrey, and there came a three-



score of them about us, and at the first they were afraid of us, but in the ende perceiving that wee did no hurt, they would come to us and take us by the hand and be familiar with us, and then we went into their Townes, which were like to twentie small hovels, all covered over with great leaves and baggage, and all the sides open, and a scaffold under the house about a yard high, where they worke many pretie things of the barkes of trees, and there they lye also. In some of their houses they worke yron and make faire darts, and divers other things to worke their boates, and other things withall, and the women worke as well as the men. But when wee were there divers of the women to shew us pleasure danced and sung after their maner, full ill to our eares. Their song was thus :

Sakere, sakere, ho, ho. Sakere, sakere, ho, ho.

And with these words they leape and dance and clap their hands. Beastes we could see none that they had, but two goates, small dogges, and small hennes : other beastes we saw none. After that we had well marked all things we departed and went aboard our ships : which thing the Captaine of the other towne perceiving, sent two of his servants in a boat with a basket of Graines, and made us signes that if when we had slept wee would come againe into their river, wee should have store of Graines, and so shewed us his Graines and departed.

The 17. day in the morning because we thought that the Negroes would have done something because the Captaine sent for us, I required the Master to goe on shoare, and sent the rest of our Marchants with him, and taried aboard my selfe by reason that the last day he esteemed our things so litle : so when the Master and the rest came into the river, the captaine with divers others came to them, and brought Graines with them, & after that he saw that I was not there, he made signes to know where I was, and they made signes to him againe that I was in the ships : and then hee made signes to know who was Captaine by the name of Diago, for so they call their Captaine, & they pointed to the master of the ship : then he began to shew his Graines, but he held them so unreasonably, that there was no profit to be made of them : which things the Master perceiving, and seeing that they had no store of Graines, came away, and tooke

not above 50. pound waight of Graines. Then he went a shoare to the litle Towne where we were the day before, & one of them plucked a Gourd, wherewith the Negroes were offended, & came many of them to our men with their darts and great targets, and made signes to them to depart: which our men did, having but one bow and two or three swords, and went aboard the boate and came away from them: and assoone as they were come aboard we wayed and set saile, but the winde was off the Sea, so that we could not get out cleare of certaine rocks, and therefore we came to an ancre againe.

This river is called River S. Vincent, standing in 4. degrees and a halfe, and it ebbeth and floweth there every 12. houres, but not much water when it ebbeth the most: while wee were there, it ebbed one fadome and a halfe water.

This countrey as farre as we could perceiue is altogether woody, and al strange trees, whereof wee knewe none, and they were of many sorts, with great leaves like great dockes, which bee higher then any man is able to reach the top of them.

There are certaine peason by the Sea side, which grow upon great and very long stalkes, one of the stalkes I measured and found it 27. paces long, and they grow upon the sand like to trees, and that so neere the Sea, that sometimes the Sea floweth into the woods as we might perceiue by the water markes. The trees and all things in this place grow continually greene. Divers of the women have such exceeding long breasts, that some of them wil lay the same upon the ground and lie downe by them, but all the women have not such breasts.

At this place all the day the winde bloweth off the Sea, and all the night off the land, but wee found it to differ sometimes, which our Master marveled at.

This night at 9. of the clocke the winde came up at the East, which ordinarily about that time was wont to come out of the North Northwest off the shoare: yet we wayed and halled off South with that winde all night into the Sea, but the next morning we halled in againe to the lande, and tooke in 6. Tunnes of water for our ship, and I thinke the Hinde tooke in as much.

I could not perceiue that here was any gold, or any other good thing: for the people be so wilde and idle, that they give themselves to seeke out nothing: if they

would takes paines they might gather great store of graines, but in this place I could not perceiue two Tunne.

There are many foules in the Countrey, but the people wil not take the paines to take them.

I observed some of their words of speach, which I thought good here to set downe.

Bezow, bezow,  
Manegete afoye,  
Crocow afoye,  
Zeramme afoye,  
Begge sacke,  
Begge come,  
Borke,  
Coutrecke,  
Veede,  
Brekeke,  
Diago,

} Is their salutation.  
Graines ynough.  
Hennes ynough.  
Have you ynough?  
Give me a knife.  
Give me bread.  
Holde your peace.  
Ye lye.  
Put foorth, or emptie.  
Rowe.  
Their Captaine, and some

call him Dabo. These and other wordes they speake very thicke, and oftentimes recite one word three times together, and at the last time longer then at the two first.

The 18. day towards night, as we were sailing along the coast, we met with certaine boats in the sea, & the men shewed us that there was a river thwart of us, where there were Graines to be sold, but we thought it not good to tary there, least the other ships should get before us. This river hath lying before it three great rockes, and 5. small rocks, one great tree, and a litle tree right by the river, which in height exceeded all the rest: we halled this night along the coast 10. leagues.

The 19. day as we coasted the shoare, about twelve of the clocke there came out to us 3. boates to tell us that they had graines, & brought some with them for a shew, but we could not tary there. We proceeded along the coast, & ancred by the shore all the night, and ran this day 10. leagues.

The 20. day the Hinde having ankered by us amongst rockes, and foule ground, lost a small anker. At noone, as we passed along the coast, there came forth a Negro to us, making signes, that if we would goe a shoare, wee should have Graines, and where wee ankered at night, there came another to us, and brought Graines, and shewed us them, and made signes that wee should tary, and made a fire upon the land in the night, meaning

thereby to tell us where we should land, and so they did in divers other places upon the coast, where they saw us to anker.

In al the places where we have ancred, since we came from our watring place, we have found the tide alwayes running to the Westwards, and all along the coast many rockes hard aboard the shoare, and many of them a league off the shoare or more, we ran this day 12. leagues.

The 21. day, although we ranne all day with a good gale of winde, yet the tides came so sore out of the coast, that we were not able to runne above sixe leagues: and this day there came some Negroes to us, as there had done other times.

The 22. wee ranne all day and night to double a point, called Das palmas, and ranne sixteene leagues.

The 23. day about 3. of the clocke we were thwart of the point, & before we came to the Westernmost part of it, we saw a great ledge of rocks, which lie West from the Cape about 3. leagues and a league or more from the land. Shortly after we had sight of the Eastermost part of the Cape, which lieth 4. leagues from the Westernmost part, and upon the very corner thereof lie two greene places, as it were closes, and to the Westwards of the Cape the land parted from the Cape, as it were a Bay, whereby it may well be knowen. Foure leagues more beyonde that there lieth a head-land in the sea, and about two leagues beyond the head-land there goeth in a great Bay, as it were a river, before which place we ankered all that night, which wee did, least in the night wee should overrunne a river, where the last yeere they had all their Elephants teeth.

This Cape Das palmas lieth under foure degrees and a halfe, and betwixt the said Cape, and the river de Sestos is the greatest store of Graines to be had, and being past the said Cape, there is no great store else where.

Where we ankered this night, we found that the tide, which before ran alwayes to the Westward, from this Cape runneth all to the Eastward: this day we ranne some 16. leagues.

The 24. day running our course, about eight of the clock there came forth to us certaine boats, which brought with them small egges, which were soft without shels, and they made us signes, that there was within the land fresh water, and Goates: and the Master thinking that

it was the river which we sought, cast ancker and sent the boate on shoare, with one that knew the river, and comming neere the shoare, hee perceived that it was not the river, and so came backe againe, and went along the shoare, with their oares and saile, and wee weyed and ranne along the shoare also: and being thirteene leagues beyond the Cape, the Master perceived a place which he judged to be the river, when wee were in deede two miles shot past it: yet the boate came from the shoare, and they that were in her saide, that there was no river: notwithstanding wee came to an ancker, and the Master and I tooke five men with us in the boat, and when hee came neere the shoare, hee perceived that it was the same river which hee did seeke: so we rowed in, and found the entrance very ill, by reason that the sea goeth so high: and being entred, divers boates came to us, and shewed us that they had Elephants teeth, and they brought us one of about eight pound, & a little one of a pound, which we bought: then they brought certaine teeth to the river side, making signes, that if the next day we would come againe, they would sell us them: so we gave unto two Captaines, to either of them a manillio, and so we departed, and came aboard, and sent out the other boate to another place, where certaine boates that came into the sea, made us signes that there was fresh water: and being come thither, they found a towne, but no river, yet the people brought them fresh water, and shewed them an Elephants tooth, making signes that the next day they would sel them teeth, and so they came aboard.

This river lieth by the Carde thirteene leagues from the Cape Das palmas, and there lieth to the Westwards of the same a rocke about a league in the sea, and the river it selfe hath a point of lande comming out into the Sea, whereupon grow five trees, which may well bee discerned two or three leagues off, comming from the Westward, but the river cannot bee perceived untill such time as a man be hard by it, and then a man may perceive a litle Towne on ech side the river, and to ech Towne there belongeth a Captaine. The river is but small, but the water is good and fresh.

Two miles beyond the river, where the other towne is, there lieth another point into the Sea, which is greene like a close, and not above sixe trees upon it, which

growe one of them from the other, whereby the coast may well be known: for along all the coast that we have hitherto sailed by, I have not seene so much bare land.

In this place, and three or foure leagues to the Westward of it, al along the shoare, there grow many Palme trees, whereof they make their wine de Palma. These trees may easily be known almost two leagues off, for they be very high and white bodied, and streight, and be biggest in the midst: they have no boughes, but onely a round bush in the top of them: and at the top of the same trees they boare a hole, and there they hang a bottell, and the juyce of the tree runneth out of the said hole into the bottle, and that is their wine.

From the Cape das Palmas, to the Cape Tres puntas, there are 100. leagues: and to the port where we purpose to make sales of our cloth beyond the Cape Tres puntas 40. leagues.

Note, that betwixt the river De Sestos, and the Cape Das palmas, is the place where all the graines be gathered.

The language of the people of this place, as far as I could perceiue, differeth not much from the language of those which dwel where we watred before: but the people of this place be more gentle in nature then the other, and goodlier men: their building & apparel is all one with the others.

Their desire in this place was most of all to have Manillios and Margarites: as for the rest of our things, they did litle esteeme them.

About nine of the clocke there came boates to us foorth, from both of the places aforesaid, and brought with them certaine teeth, and after they had caused me to sweare by the water of the Sea that I would not hurt them, they came aboard our ship three or foure of them, and we gave them to eate of all such things as we had, and they did eate and drinke of all things, as well as we our selves. Afterwards we bought all their teeth, which were in number 14. and of those 14. there were 10. small: afterwards they departed, making us signes that the next day we should come to their Townes.

The 26. day because we would not trifle long at this place I required the Master to goe unto one of the townes, and to take two of our marchants with him, & I my selfe



went to the other, and tooke one with me, because these two townes stand three miles asunder. To these places we caried somewhat of every kinde of marchandize that we had: and hee had at the one Towne, nine teeth, which were but small, and at the other towne where I was, I had eleven, which were also not bigge, and we left aboard with the Master certaine Manillios, wherewith he bought 12. teeth aboard the ship, in our absence: and having bought these of them, wee perceived that they had no more teeth: so in that place where I was one brought to me a small goat, which I bought, and to the Master at the other place they brought five small hennes, which he bought also, and after that we saw there was nothing else to be had, we departed, and by one of the clocke we met aboard, and then wayed, and went East our course 18. leagues still within sight of land.

The 28. the wind varied, and we ranne into the sea, and the winde comming againe off the sea, wee fell with the land againe, and the first of the land which we raised shewed as a great red cliffe round, but not very high, and to the Eastward of that another smaller red cliffe, and right above that into the land a round hummoke and greene, which we tooke to be trees. We ranne in these 24. houres, not above foure leagues.

The 29. day comming neere to the shoare, we perceived the red cliffe aforesaide to have right upon the top of it a great heape of trees, and all to the Westwards of it full of red cliffes as farre as we could see, and all along the shoare, as well upon the cliffes, as otherwise, full of wood: within a mile of the said great cliffe there is a river to the Eastwards, and no cliffes that we could see, except one small cliffe, which is hard by it. We ran this day and night 12. leagues.

The windes that wee had in this place by the reports of the people and of those that have bene there, have not bene usuall, but in the night, at North off the lande, and in the day South off the sea, and most commonly Northwest, and Southwest.

The 31. day we went our course by the shoare Northwards: this land is al along a low shoare, and full of wood, as all the coast is for the most part, and no rockes. This morning came out many boates which went a fishing, which bee greater boates then those which we sawe before, so that in some of them there sate 5. men, but



the fashion of the boats is all one. In the afternoone about three of the clocke wee had sight of a Towne by the sea side, which our Pilots judged to be 25. leagues to the Westwards of the Cape Tres puntas.

The third of January in the morning we fell with the Cape Tres puntas, and in the night passed, as our Pilots saide, by one of the Portugals castles, which is 8. leagues to the Westwards of the Cape: upon the first sight of the Cape wee discerned it a very high land, and all growen over with trees, and comming neere to it, we perceived two head lands, as it were two Bayes betwixt them, which opened right to the Westward, and the uttermost of them is the Easterne Cape, there we perceived the middle Cape, and the Eastermost Cape: the middle Cape standeth not above a league from the West Cape, although the Card sheweth them to be 3. leagues one from the other: and that middle Cape hath right before the point of it a small rocke so neere to it, that it cannot be discerned from the Cape, except a man be neere to the shoare, and upon the same Cape standeth a great heape of trees, and when a man is thwart the same Cape to the Eastward, there riseth hard by it a round greene hommoke, which cometh out of the maine.

The thirde Cape is about a league beyond the middle Cape, and is a high land like to the other Capes, and betwixt the middle, and the thirde commeth out a litle head or point of a land out of the maine, and divers rocks hard aboard the shoare.

Before we came to the Capes, being about 8. leagues off them, wee had the land Southeast, and by East, and being past the Capes, the land runneth in againe East Northeast.

About two leagues beyond the farthest Cape there is a lowe glade about two miles long, and then the land riseth high againe, and divers head-lands rise one beyond another, and divers rockes lie at the point of the first head-land. The middest of these Capes is the neerest to the Southwards, I meane, further into the sea then any of the other, so that being to the Eastward of it, it may be discerned farre off, and being so to the Eastward it riseth with two small rockes.

This day we ankered for feare of overshooting a towne called S. Johns. Wee ran this day not above 8. leagues. In the afternoone this day there came a boate of the

countrie from the shoare, with five men in her, and went along by us, as we thought, to discerne our flagges, but they would not come neere us, and when they had well looked upon us, they departed.

The fourth day in the morning, sailing by the coast, we espied a ledge of rockes by the shoare, and to the Westwards of them two great greene hils joyning together, so that betweene them it was hollow like a saddle: and within the said rockes the Master thought the aforesaid Towne had stooede, and therefore we manned our boates, and tooke with us cloth, and other marchandize, and rowed ashoare, but going along by the coast, we sawe that there was no towne, therefore wee went aboard againe.

From these two hils aforesaid, about two leagues to the Eastward, lie out into the Sea almost two miles a ledge of rockes, and beyond that a great Bay, which runneth into the North Northwestward, and the land in this place lieth North Northeast along the shoare: but the uttermost point of land in that place that we could see, lay Northeast, and by East from us.

After that we were with a small gale of winde runne past that uttermost head-land, we sawe a great red cliffe, which the Master againe judged to be the towne of S. Johns, and then wee tooke our boate with marchandize, and went thither, and when we came thither, we perceived that there was a towne upon the toppe of the hill, and so wee went toward it, and when we were hard by it, the people of the towne came together a great sort of them, and waved us to come in, with a peece of cloth, and so we went into a very faire Bay, which lieth to the Eastward of the cliffe, whereupon the towne standeth, and being within the cliffe, wee let fall our grapnell, and after that we had taried there a good space, they sent a boate aboard of us, to shewe us that they had golde, and they shewed us a peece about halfe a crowne weight, and required to know our measure, & our weight, that they might shewe their Captaine thereof: and wee gave them a measure of two elles, and a waight of two Angels to shew unto him, which they tooke, and went on shoare, and shewed it unto their Captaine, and then they brought us a measure of two elles, one quarter and a halfe, and one Crusado-weight of gold, making us signes that so much they would give for the like measure,

and lesse they would not have. After this, we taried there about an houre, and when we sawe that they would doe no otherwise, and withall understood, that all the best places were before us, wee departed to our shippes and wayed, and ranne along the shoare, and went before with our boate, and having sailed about a league, we came to a point where there lay foorth a ledge of rockes, like to the others before spoken of, and being past that people, the Master spied a place which hee saide plainly was the towne of Don John: and the night was come upon us, so that we could not well discerne it, but we ankered as neere unto the place as we could.

The fift day in the morning we perceived it to be the same towne in deede, and we manned our boates and went thither, and because that the last yeere the Portugals at that place tooke away a man from them, and after shot at them with great bases, and did beate them from the place, we let fall our grapnel almost a base shot off the shoare, and there we lay about two houres, and no boats came to us. Then certaine of our men with the Hindes boate went into the Bay which lieth to the Eastward of the towne, and within that Bay they found a goodly fresh river, and afterwards they came and waved to us also to come in, because they perceived the Negroes to come downe to that place, which we did: and immediatly the Negroes came to us, and made us signes that they had golde, but none of them would come aboard our boates, neither could wee perceive any boates that they had to come withall, so that we judged that the Portugals had spoiled their boates, because we saw halfe of their towne destroyed.

Wee having stayed there a good space, and seeing that they would not come to us, thrust our boates heads a shoare, being both well appointed, and then the Captaine of the Towne came downe being a grave man: and he came with his dart in his hand, and sixe tall men after him, every one with his dart & his target, and their darts were all of yron, faire and sharpe, and there came another after them which caried the Captaines stoole: wee saluted him, and put off our caps, and bowed our selves, and hee like one that thought well of himselfe, did not moove his cap, nor scant bowed his body, and sate him downe very solemnly upon his stoole: but all his men put off their caps to us, and bowed downe themselves.

He was clothed from the loines downe with a cloth of that Countrey making, wrapped about him, and made fast about his loynes with a girdle, and his cap of a certaine cloth of the Countrey also, and bare legged, and bare footed, and all bare above the loynes, except his head.

His servants, some of them had cloth about their loines, and some nothing but a cloth betwixt their legges, and made fast before, and behinde to their girdles, and cappes of their owne making, some like a basket, and some like a great wide purse of beasts skinnes.

All their cloth, cordes, girdles, fishing lines, and all such like things which they have, they make of the bark of certaine trees, and thereof they can worke things very pretily, and yron worke they can make very fine, of all such things as they doe occupy, as darts, fishhookes, hooking yrons, yron heads, and great daggers, some of them as long as a woodknife, which be on both sides exceeding sharpe, and bended after the maner of Turkie blades, and the most part of them have hanging at their left side one of those great daggers.

Their targets bee made of such pils as their cloth is made of, and very closely wrought, and they bee in forme foure square, and very great, and somewhat longer then they bee broad, so that kneeling downe, they make their targets to cover their whole body. Their bowes be short, and of a pretie strength, as much as a man is able to draw with one of his fingers, and the string is of the barke of a tree, made flat, and about a quarter of an inch broad: as for their arrowes, I have not as yet seene any of them, for they had wrapped them up close, and because I was busie I could not stand about it, to have them open them. Their golde also they worke very well.

When the Captaine was set, I sent him two elles of cloth, and two basons, and gave them unto him, and hee sent againe for a waight of the same measure, and I sent him a weight of two Angels, which he would not take, neither would hee suffer the towne to buy any thing, but the basons of brasse: so that wee solde that day 74. basons unto the men of the towne, for about halfe an Angel weight, one with another, and nine white basons, which we solde for a quarter of an Angell a peece, or thereabouts.

We shewed them all our other things which we had, but they did not esteeme them.

About two of the clocke, the Captaine who did depart in the morning from us, came againe, and brought with him to present mee withall, a henne, and two great rootes, which I received, and after made me signes that the countrey would come to his towne that night, and bring great store of gold, which in deed about 4. of the clocke they did: for there came about 100. men under 3. Captaines, well appointed with their darts and bowes, and when they came to us, every man sticked downe his dart upon the shoare, and the Captaines had stooles brought them, and they sate downe, and sent a young man aboard of us, which brought a measure with him of an ell, and one fourth part, and one sixteenth part, and he would have that foure times for a waight of one Angell and twelve graines: I offered him two elles, as I had done before for two Angels weight, which he esteemed nothing, but still stucke at his foure measures aforesaid: yet in the ende, when it grew very late, and I made him signes that I would depart, he came to foure elles for the weight abovesaid, and otherwise he would not deale, and so we departed. This day we tooke for basons sixe ounces and a halfe and one eight part.

The sixth day in the morning we manned our boates and the skiffe well, for feare of the Portugals which the last yeere had taken away a man from the other ships, and went on shoare, and landed, because they had no boates to come to us, and so the young man which was with us the night before was sent aboard, who seemed to have dealt and bargained before with the Portugals for he could speake a litle Portuguese, and was perfect in weights and measures: at his comming he offered us, as he had done before, one Angell, and twelve graines for foure elles, and more he would not give, and made signes, that if we would not take that, we should depart, which we did: but before we did indeede depart, I offered him of some rotten cloth three elles for his waight of an Angell and twelve graines, which he would not take, and then we departed making signes to him that we would go away, as indeede we would have done, rather then have given that measure, although the cloth was ill, seeing we were so neere to the places, which we judged to be better for sale. Then we went aboard our ships, which lay about a league off, and came backe againe to the shoare for sand and balaste: and then the Captaine perceiving that the

boats had brought no marchandize but came onely for water and sand, and seeing that we would depart, came unto them, making signes againe to know whether we would not give the foure elles, and they made signes againe, that we would give them but three, and when they sawe that the boates were ready to depart, they came unto them and gave them the weight of our Angell and twelve graines, which we required before and made signes, that if we would come againe, they would take three elles. So when the boates came aboard, we layde wares in them both, and for the speedier dispatch I and John Savill went in one boat, and the Master John Makeworth, and Richard Curligin, in the other, and went on shoare, and that night I tooke for my part fiftie and two ounces, and in the other boate they tooke eight ounces and a quarter, all by one weight and measure, and so being very late, we departed and went aboard, and tooke in all this day three pound.

The seventh day we went a shoare againe, and that day I tooke in our boate three pound 19 ounces, so that we dispatched almost all the cloth that we caried with us before noone, and then many of the people were departed & those that remained had litle golde, yet they made us signes to fetch them some latten basons, which I would not because I purposed not to trifle out ye time, but goe thence with speede to Don Johns towne. But John Savill and John Makeworth were desirous to goe againe: and I, loth to hinder them of any profite, consented, but went not my selfe: so they tooke eighteene ounces of gold and came away, seeing that the people at a certaine crie made, were departed.

While they were at the shoare, there came a young fellow which could speake a little Portuguese, with three more with him, and to him I solde 39 basons and two small white sawcers, for three ounces, &c. which was the best reckoning that we did make of any basons: and in the forenoone when I was at the shoare, the Master solde five basons unto the same fellow, for halfe an ounce of gold.

This fellow, as farre as we could perceive, had bene taken into the Castle by the Portugales, and was gotten away from them, for he tolde us that the Portugales were bad men, and that they made them slaves if they could take them, and would put yrons upon their legges, and besides he told us, that as many Frenchmen or Englishmen, as they could take (for he could name these two



very well) they would hang them: he told us further, that there were 60 men in the castle, and that every yeere there came thither two shippes, one great, and one small carvell, and further, that Don John had warres with the Portugals, which gave mee the better courage to goe to his towne, which lieth but foure leagues from the Castle, wherehence our men were beaten the last yeere.

This fellowe came aboard our shippe without feare, and assoone as he came, he demaunded, why we had not brought againe their men, which the last yeere we tooke away, and could tell us that there were five taken away by Englishmen: we made him answeere, that they were in England well used, and were there kept till they could speake the language, and then they should be brought againe to be a helpe to Englishmen in this Countrey: and then he spake no more of that matter.

Our boates being come aboard, we wayed and set sayle and a litle after spied a great fire upon the shoare, and by the light of the fire we might discerne a white thing, which they tooke to be the Castle, and for feare of overshooting the towne of Don John we there ankered two leagues off the shoare, for it is hard to fetch up a towne here, if a ship overshoot it. This day we tooke seven pound, and five ounces of golde.

This towne lieth in a great Bay, which is very deepe.

The people in this place desired most to have basons and cloth. They would buy some of them also many trifles, as knives, horsetailes, hornes: and some of our men going a shoare, sold a cap, a dagger, a hat, &c.

They showed us a certain course cloth, which I thinke to be made in France, for it was course wooll, and a small threed, and as thicke as wosted, and striped with stripes of greene, white, yellow &c. Divers of the people did weare about their neckes great beades of glasse of diverse colours. Here also I learned some of their language, as followeth:

Mattea, mattea,	}	Is their salutation.
Dasse, dassee,		I thanke you.
Sheke,		Golde.
Cowrte,		Cut.
Cracca,		Knives.
Bassina,		Basons.
Foco, foco,		Cloth.
Molta,	}	Much, or great store.



The eight day in the morning we had sight of the Castle, but by reason of a miste that then fell we could not have the perfect sight of it, till we were almost at the towne of Don John, and then it cleared up, and we saw it and a white house, as it were a Chappell, upon the hill about it: then we halled into the shoare, within two English miles of Don Johns towne, and there ankered in seven fadome water. Here, as in many other places before, we perceived that the currant went with the winde.

The land here is in some places low and in some high, and full of wood altogether.

The towne of Don John is but litle, of about twentie houses, and the most part of the towne is walled in with a wall of a mans height, made with reede or sedge, or some such thing. Here we staid two or three houres after we had ankered, to see if any man would come unto us: and seeing that none did come, we manned our boates and put in marchandize, and went and ankered with our boates neere to the shoare: then they sent out a man to us who made us signes that that was the towne of Don John, and that he himselfe was in the Countrey, and would be at home at the going downe of the Sunne, and when he had done, he required a reward, as the most part of them will doe which come first aboard, and I gave him one ell of cloth and he departed, and that night we heard no more of him.

The ninth day in the morning we went againe with our boates to the shoare, and there came foorth a boate to us, who made signes that Don John was not come home, but would be at home this day: and to that place also came another boate from the other towne a mile from this, which is called Don Devis, and brought with him gold to shew us, making signes that we should come thither. I then left in this place John Savill, and John Makeworth, and tooke the Hinde, and went to the other towne and there ankered, and tooke cloth and went to shore with the boate, and by and by the boates came to us and brought a measure of foure yards long & a halfe, and shewed us a weight of an angell and twelve graines, which they would give for so much, and not otherwise: so I staid and made no bargaine. And all this day the barke lay at Don Johns towne, and did nothing, having answere that he was not come home.

The tenth day we went againe to the shoare, and there came out a boat with good store of gold, and having driven the matter off a long time, and having brought the measure to a nayle lesse then three elles, and their weight to an angell and twentie graines, and could not bring them to more, I did conclude with them and solde, and within one quarter of an houre I tooke one pound and a quarter of an ounce of golde: and then they made me signes to tary, till they had parted their cloth upon the shoare as their manner is, and they would come againe, and so they went away, and layde the cloth all abroad upon the sande peece by peece, and by and by one came running downe from the towne to them, and spake unto them, and foorthwith every man made as much haste as he could away, and went into the woods to hide his golde and his cloth: we mistrusted some knavery, and being waved by them to come a shoare, yet we would not, but went aboorde the Hinde, and perceived upon the hill 30 men which we judged to be Portugals: and they went up to the toppe of the hill and there mustered and shewed themselves, having a flagge with them. Then I being desirous to knowe what the Hart did, tooke the Hindes boate and went towards her, and when I came neere to them they shot off two pieces of ordinance which I marvelled at: I made as much haste as I could to her, and met her boate and skiffe comming from the shoare in all haste, and we met aboard together. They shewed me that they had beene a shoare all that day, and had given to the two sonnes of Don John, to either of them three yardes and a halfe of cloth, and three basons betwixt them, and had delivered him 3 yards of cloth more and the weight of an angell and 12 graines, and being on land did tarie for his answer, and in the meane time the Portugals came running from the hill upon them, whereof the Negroes a litle before had given them warning, and bad them to go away but they perceived it not. The sonne of Don John conspired with the Portugales against them, so that they were almost upon them, but yet they recovered their boate and set off from the shoare, and the Portugales shot their calievers at them, but hurt no man, and then the shippe perceiving it, shot off the two peeces aforesayde among them. Hereupon we layde bases in both the boates, and in the Skiffe and manned them well, and went a shoare againe, but because of the winde we

could not land, but lay off in the sea about ten score and shot at them, but the hill succoured them, and they from the rockes and from the hilles shotte at us with their halfe hakes, and the Negroes more for feare then for love stooode by them to helpe them, and when we saw that the Negroes were in such subjection unto them that they durst not sell us any thing for feare of them we went aboard, and that night the winde kept at the East, so that we could not with our ship fetch the Hinde, but I tooke the boate in the night and went aboard the barke to see what was there to be done, and in the morning we perceived the towne to be in like case layde with Portugales, so we wayed and went along the coast. This towne of John de Viso standeth upon an hill like the towne of Don John, but it hath beene burned, so that there are not passing sixe houses in it: the most part of the golde that comes thither comes out of the countrey, and no doubt if the people durst for feare of the Portugals bring forth their gold, there would be had good store: but they dare not sell any thing, their subjection is so great to the Portugales. The 11 day running by the shoare we had sight of a litle towne foure leagues from the last towne that we came from, and about halfe a league from that, of another towne upon a hill, and halfe a league from that also of another great towne upon the shoare: whither we went to see what could there be done: if we could doe nothing, then to returne to the other towne, because we thought that the Portugales would leave the towne upon our departure. Along from the castle unto this place are very high hilles which may be seene above all other hilles, but they are full of wood, and great red cliffes by the sea side. The boates of these places are somewhat large and bigge, for one of them will carrie twelve men, but their forme is alike with the former boates of the coast. There are about these townes few rivers: their language differeth not from the language used at Don Johns towne: but every one can speake three or foure words of Portuguise, which they used altogether to us.

We sawe this night about 5 of the clocke 22 boates running along the shoare to the Westward, whereupon we suspected some knavery intended against us. The 12 day therefore we set sayle and went further along the coast, and descried more townes wherein were greater

houses then in the other townes, and the people came out of the townes to looke upon us, but we could see no boates. Two mile beyond the Eastermost towne are blacke rocks, which blacke rockes continue to the uttermost cape of the land, which is about a league off, and then the land runnes in Eastnortheast, and a sandy shoare againe: upon these blacke rockes came downe certaine Negroes, which waved us with a white flagge, but we perceiving the principall place to be neere, would not stay, but bare still along the shoare: and as soone as we had opened the point of the land, we rayased another head-land about a league off the point, which had a rocke lying off it into the sea, and that they thought to be the place which we sought. When we came thwart the place they knew it, and we put wares into our boate, and the ship being within halfe a mile of the place ankered in five fadome water and faire ground. We went on shoare with our boate, and ankered about ten of the clocke in the forenoone: we saw many boates lying upon the shoare, and divers came by us, but none of them would come neere us, being as we judged afraid of us: because that foure men were taken perforce the last yeere from this place, so that no man came to us, whereupon we went aboard againe, and thought here to have made no saile: yet towardes night a great sort came downe to the water side, and waved us on shoare with a white flagge, and afterwarde their Captaine came downe and many men with him, and sate him downe by the shore under a tree: which when I perceived, I tooke things with me to give him: at last he sent a boat to call to us, which would not come neere us, but made us signes to come againe the next day: but in fine, I got them to come aboard in offering them things to give to their captaine, which were two elles of cloth, one latten bason, one white bason, a bottle, a great piece of beefe, and sixe bisket cakes, which they received making us signes to come againe the next day, saying, that their Captain was Grand Capitane as appeared by those that attended upon him with their darts and targets, and other weapons.

This towne is very great and stands upon a hill among trees, so that it cannot well be seene except a man be neere it: to the Eastward of it upon the hill hard by the towne stand 2. high trees, which is a good marke to knowe the towne. And under the towne lieth another

hill lower then it, whereupon the sea beates : and that end next the sea is all great blacke rockes, and beyonde the towne in a bay lieth another small towne.

The 13 day in the morning we tooke our boate and went to shoare, and stayed till ten a clocke and no man came to us : we went about therefore to returne aboard, and when the Negroes saw that, they came running downe with a flagge to wave us againe, so we ankered againe, and then one shewed us that the Captaine would come downe by and by : we saw a saile in the meane time passe by us but it was small, and we regarded it not. Being on shore we made a tilt with our oares and sayle, and then there came a boate to us with five men in her, who brought us againe our bottle, and brought me a hen, making signes by the sunne, that within two houres the marchants of the countrey would come downe and buy all that we had : so I gave them sixe Manillios to carry to their Captaine, and they made signes to have a pledge of us, and they would leave us another man : and we willing to doe so, put one of our men in their boate, but they would not give us one of theirs, so we tooke our man againe, and there tarried for the marchants : and shortly after one came downe arrayed like their Captaine with a great traine after him, who saluted us friendly, and one of the chiefest of them went and sate downe under a tree, where the last yere the Captaine was wont to sit : and at last we perceived a great many of them to stand at the ende of a hollow way, and behinde them the Portugales had planted a base, who suddenly shotte at us but overshot us, and yet we were in a manner hard by them, and they shot at us againe before we could ship our oares to get away but did no hurt. Then the Negroes came to the rocks hard by us, and discharged calievers at us, and againe the Portugales shot off their base twise more, and then our ship shot at them, but the rockes and hilles defended them.

Then we went aboard to goe from this place, seeing the Negroes bent against us, because that the last yeere M. Gainsh did take away the Captaines sonne and three others from this place with their golde, and all that they had about them : which was the cause that they became friends with the Portugales, whom before they hated, as did appeare the last yeere by the courteous intertainement which the Trinitie had there, when the Captaine came

aboord the shippe, and brought them to his towne, and offered them ground to build a Castle in, and there they had good sales.

The 14 day we wayed and plyed backe againe to seeke the Hinde, which in the morning we met, and so we turned both backe to the Eastwardes to see what we could doe at that place where the Trinitie did sell her eight frises the last yeere. The Hinde had taken eighteene ounces and a halfe more of golde of other Negroes, the day after that we left them. This day about one of the clocke we espied certaine boates upon the sand and men by them and went to them with marchandizes, and tooke three ounces of gold for 18 fuffs of cloth, every fuffe three yards and a halfe after one angell and 12 graines the fuffe, and then they made me signes that the next day I should have golde enough: so the Master tooke the Hinde with John Savill and John Makeworth, and went to seeke the place aforesaid, & I with Richard Pakeman remained in this place to see what we could do the next day: and when the Negroes perceived our ship to go away, they feared that the other would follow, & so sent forth 2 boats to us with 4 men in them, requiring us to tary & to give them one man for a pledge, and 2 of them should tary with us for him, so Edward M. Morleis servant seeing these men so earnest therein offered himselfe to be pledge, and we let him goe for two of them, one whereof had his waights and scales, and a chaine of golde aboute his necke, and another about his arme. They did eate of such things as we had and were well contented. In the night the Negroes kept a light upon the shoare thwart of us, and about one of the clocke we heard and saw the light of a base which shot off twice at the said light, and by and by discharged two calievers, which in the end we perceived to be the Portugals brigandine which followed us from place to place, to give warning to the people of the countrey, that they should not deale with us.

The 15 day in the morning the Captaine came downe with 100 men with him, and brought his wife, and many others brought their wives also, because their towne was 8 miles up in the countrey, and they determined to lie by the sea side till they had bought what they would. When he was come he sent our man aboard, and required to have two men pledges, and he himselfe would come aboard, and I sent him two, of whom he tooke but one,



and so came aboard us, he and his wife with divers of his friends, and brought me a goate and two great rootes, and I gave him againe a latten bason, a white bason, 6 manillios, and a bottell of Malmesie, and to his wife a small casket. After this we began to make our measure and weight: and he had a weight of his owne which held one angell and 14 graines, and required a measure of 4 elles and a halfe. In fine we concluded the 8 part for one angell and 20 graines, and before we had done, they tooke mine owne weight and measure.

The 16 day I tooke 8 li. 1 ounce of gold: and since the departure of the Hinde I heard not of her, but when our pledge went into the countrey the first night, he said he saw her cast anker about five leagues from this place. The 17 day I sold about 17 pieces of cloth, & tooke 4. li. 4 ounces and a halfe of gold. The 18 day the captaine desired to have some of our wine, and offered halfe a ducket of gold for a bottell: but I gave it him freely, and made him and his traine drinke besides. And this day also I tooke 5 li. 5 ounces of gold. The 19 day we sold about 18 clothes, and tooke 4 li. 4. ounces and one quarter of golde.

The 20 day we tooke 3 li. sixe ounces and a quarter of golde. The 21 we tooke 8. li. 7. ounces and a quarter. The 22. 3. li. 8. ounces and a quarter. And this night about 4 of the clocke the Captaine who had layen all this while upon the shoare, went away with all the rest of the people with him.

The 23 day we were waved a shoare by other Negroes, and sold them cloth, caskets, knives, and a dosen of bells, and tooke 1. li. 10. ounces of gold. The 24 likewise we sold bells, sheetes, and thimbles, and tooke two li. one ounce and a quarter of gold. The 25 day we sold 7 dosen of smal bells and other things, and then perceiving their gold to be done, we wayed and set sayle & went to leeward to seeke the Hinde, and about 5 of the clocke at night we had sight of her, and bare with her, and understood that shee had made some sales. The 26 day wee received out of the Hinde 48 li. 3 ounces and one eight part of golde, which they had taken in the time that we were from them. And this day upon the request of a Negro that came unto us from a captaine, we went to shoare with our marchandize, and tooke 7 li. and one ounce of gold. At this place they required no gages of us, but at night they

sent a man aboard us, which lay with us all night, because we might knowe that they would also come to us the next day. The 27 day in both our shippes we tooke 8. li. one ounce, three quarters and halfe a quarter of golde. The 28 we made sales for the companie, and tooke one pound and halfe an ounce of gold. The 29 day in the morning we heard two calievers shot off upon the shore, which we judged to be either by the Portugales or by the Negroes of the Portugales: we manned our boates and armed our selves and went to shoare, but could finde nothing: for they were gone. The 30 day we made more sales for the companie and for the Masters.

The 31 we sent our boate to shoare to take in sand for balast, and there our men met the Negroes, with whom they had made sale the day before a fishing which did helpe them to fill sand, and having no gold, sold fish to our men for their handkerchiefes and nightkerchiefes.

The 1. day of February we wayed and went to another place, and tooke 1. li. 9. ounces 3 quarters of gold. The 2 day we made more sales: but having viewed our victuals, we determined to tarie no long time upon the coast, because the most part of our drinke was spent, & that which remained grew sowre. The 3 and 4 dayes we made some sales, though not great, and finding the wind this 4. day to come off the shoare, we set saile and ranne along the shoare to the Westwards: upon this coast we found by experience that ordinarily about 2 of the clocke in the night the winde comes off the shoare at Northnortheast, and so continueth untill eight of the clocke in the morning: and all the rest of the day and night it comes out of the Southwest: and as for the tide or currant upon this shore, it goeth continually with the winde. The 5 day we continued sayling and thought to have met with some English ships, but found none.

The sixt day we went our course Southwest to fetch under the line, and ranne by estimation 24 leagues.

The 13 day wee thought our selves by our reckoning to be cleare off the Cape das Palmas, and ranne 12 leagues.

The 22 day we were thwart of the Cape de Monte, which is to the Westward of the River de Sestos, about 30 leagues.

The first day of March in a Ternado we lost the Hinde, whereupon we set up a light and shot off a piece but could

not heare of her, so that then we strooke our saile and taried for her, and in the morning had sight of her againe three leagues a sterne off us.

Upon the 22 day we found our selves to be in the height of Cape Verde, which stands in 14. degrees and a halfe.

From this day till the 29 day we continued our course, and then we found our selves to be in 22 degrees. This day one of our men called William King, who had bene long sicke, died in his sleepe, his apparell was distributed to those that lackt it, and his money was kept for his friends to be delivered them at his comming home.

The 30 day we found our selves to be under the Tropike.

The 31 day we went our course, and made way 18 leagues.

From the first day of Aprill to the 20 we went our course, and then found our selves to bee in the height of the Asores.

The seventh day of May we fell with the South part of Ireland, and going on shoare with our boate had fresh drinke, and two sheepe of the countrey people, which were wilde Kernes, and we gave them golde for them, and bought further such other victuals as we had neede of, and thought would serve us till we arrived in England.

The 14 day with the afternoone tide we went into the Port of Bristoll called Hungrode, and there ankered in safetie and gave thanks to God for our safe arrivall.

The second voyage made by Maister William Towrson to the coast of Guinea, and the Castle of Mina, in the yeere 1556. with the Tiger of London, a ship of 120 tunnes, the Hart of London of 60 tunnes, and a Pinnesse of sixteene tunnes.

THE fourteenth day of September, the yeere abovesayd, we departed from Harwich, and directed our course for the Isle of Sillie, to meete there with the Hart and Pinnesse, which were rigged and victualed at Bristoll, but arriving there the eight and twentieth day we found them not, and therefore after long lying at hull to tarrie for them, but not espying them, we turned backe to Plimmouth the 12 day of October, and being there, the Hart and the Pinnesse came to us, so that the 15 of

November we all departed together from Plimmouth at one of the clocke in the after noone, and the 28 day we had sight of the Isle of Porto Santo, and the next day in the morning of Madera.

The third day of December we fell with the Ile of Palma, and the 9 we were thwart of Cape Blanke, and found there certaine Caravels fishing for Pargoes.

The 19 we found our selves in the height of Sierra Leona, and all this day we ranne thwart of certaine Currants, which did set to the West Southwestward so fast as if it had bene the overfall of a sand, making a great noyse like unto a streame or tide-gate when the water is shoale: and to proove whither we could finde ground in this place, we sounded and had 150 fadome, and no ground, and so departed.

The 30 of December we fell with the coast of Guinea, and had first sight of it about 4 leagues off. The best marke that we could take of the place to knowe it was three hilles, which lay Northeast and by East from us: betwixt the Nothermost two hilles there are two high and great trees standing in sight as it were a sailes breadth one from another, and a litle more to the Northwestwards are certaine hommocks. Having sayled somewhat into the shoare wee tooke our selves to be shotte somewhat past the river de Sestos, so that we kept about to fetch it. And a litle after we had sight of three sayles of shippes and two pinnesses which were in the weather of us, and having sight of them we made our selves readie to meete them, and halled off our ships to fetch the winde as neere as we could: and having sayled about an houre or two, they also went about, and went as we went to make themselves readie, and when we had them in chase, they went away from us: but when they had made themselves readie, they kept about againe, and came with us verie finely appointed with their streamers, and pendants and ensignes, and noyse of trumpets very bravely: so when we met, they had the weather of us, and we being determind to fight, if they had bene Portugals, waved them to come under our Lee, which they denied stoutly: then we demaunded of them whence they were, and they sayd of France, we told them againe that we were of London in England. They asked of us what Portugals wee had seene, we answered, none but Fishermen: then they tolde us that there were certaine Portugall ships gone to the Mina to defend

it, and that they met with another at the river de Sestos, which was a ship of two hundred which they had burned, and had saved none but the master and two or three Negroes, and certaine others which were sore burned which they left a shore there. Then they desired to come aboard of us with their boates to talke with us, and wee gave them leave. Then the captaine of the Admirall and divers others came aboard very friendly, desiring us to keepe them company because of the Portugals, and to goe to the Mina with them: wee told them that we had not watered, and that we were but now fallen with the coast, and they shewed us that we were fiftie leagues past the river de Sestos: notwithstanding there was water enough to be had, and they would helpe us to water with their owne boats because they would have our companie. And told us further, that they had bene sixe weekes upon the coast, and had gotten but three tunnes of graines amongst them all: and when wee had heard them, we made our reckoning that although the Mina were cleare, yet if they did goe before us, they would marre our market; and if it were not cleare, then if the Portugals were there and did take them, they would understand that we were behind, and so would waite for us. And further we made account that if we went with them we should doe as well as they, if the coast were cleare: if it were not cleare, then by them we were assured to be the stronger. Therefore having considered thus much of their gentle offers, wee told them that the next day wee would conferre more largely of the matter. Whereupon they desired me to come the next day to dinner to them, and to bring the masters of our ships with me, and such marchants as I thought good, promising to give us water out of their owne ships if we would take it, or els to tarie with us and helpe us to water with their own boats and pinnasses.

The 31 day in the morning the Admirall sent his boat aboard for me, and I tooke our masters and certaine of our marchants and went to him, who had provided a notable banquet for us, and intreated us very friendly, desiring us still to keepe his company, promising that what victuals were in his ships, or other things that might doe us pleasure untill the end, we should have the one halfe of it, offering us if we would to furlie his Flags, and to bee at our commaundement in all things.

In the ende we agreed to come to an anker, and to send our boat on shore with the Admirals boat, and one of his pinnasses, and an Almaine which they had brought out of France, to seeke water, as for our pinnasse she came to an anker to seaward of us all, and would not come at us. All this night the boats continued on shore.

The first day of January our boats came to us againe and had found no river. Whereupon we weighed and set saile, and ankred againe at another river.

The 2 day we went into the river and bargained, and tooke 5 small Elephants teeth.

The 3 day we tooke 5 more.

The fourth day the French Admirall and we tooke fiftene small teeth. This day wee tooke thirtie men with us and went to seeke Elephants, our men being all well armed with harquebusses, pikes, long bowes, crossebowes, partizans, long swordes, and swordes and bucklers: wee found two Elephants which wee stroke divers times with harquebusses and long bowes, but they went away from us and hurt one of our men. The fift day we set saile and ranne along the coast.

The 6 day we fell with the river de S. Andre, at which place the land is somewhat high to the Westward of the river, and a faire Baie also to the Westward of it: but to the Eastward of it it is lowe land.

The 7 day we went into the River and found no village, but certaine wild Negros not accustomed to trade. It is a very great river and 7 fadome water in some places at the entring. Here we filled water, and after set saile.

The 8 day we sailed along the shore and came to the Red cliffes, and went forward in sailing the 9 day also.

The 10 day we came together to confer with captaine Blundel Admiral of the French ships, Jerom Baudet his vice admiral, and John de Orleans master of a ship of 70 tunne, and with their marchants, and agreed that when God should send us to any place where wee might make sale, that we should be of one accord and not one of us hurt the market of the other, but certaine of our boates to make the price for all the rest, and then one boate to make sale for every shippe. This night our boats going to the shore met with certaine Negros, who said that they had gold, and therefore we here cast anker.



The 11 day all the day we tooke but one halfe angel weight of 4 graines, which we tooke by hand, for the people of this place had no weight : the Negros called this place Allow.

The 12 day we ran along the coast and found but one towne, but no boates would come out to us, and therefore we went our course.

The 13 day I tooke my boat and went along the shore, and passed by divers small townes, and was waved to come on shore at 3 places, but the sea went so high upon the shore, that it was not possible for us to land, neither could they come to us if they had had boats, as I could see none but at one place, where there was one that would have come unto us, but the Land-wash went so sore that it overthrew his boat, and one of the men was drowned, which the people lamented, and cried so sore, that we might easily heare them, and they got his body out of the sea, and caried it amongst them to their towne.

The 14 day we came within Saker-shot of the castle, & straightway they set forth an Almade to descry us, and when they perceived that we were no Portugals, they ranne within the towne againe : for there is a great towne by the Castle which is called by the Negros Dondou. Without this there lie two great rockes like Ilands, and the castle standeth upon a point which sheweth almost like an Iland. Before we came at this castle, we found the land for five or six leagues to be high land, and about seven leagues before we came to the castle, lowe land, until we came at the castle, and then wee found the land high againe. This castle standeth about five leagues to the East of Cape de Tres puntas. Here I tooke the boate with our Negros and ranne amongst the shore till I came to the Cape and found two small townes, but no boates at them, neither any traffique to be had. At these places our Negros did understand them well, and one of them went a shore at all the places and was well received of them. This night we ankred at the Cape de Tres puntas.

The 15 day I tooke our boat and went along the shore, & about 3 leagues beyond the Eastermost part of the Cape we found a faire Bay where we ran in, and found a smal towne and certaine boates which belonged to the same towne, but the Negros in a long time would not

come to us, but at the last by the perswasion of our owne Negros, one boat came to us, and with him we sent George our Negro a shore, and after he had talked with them, they came aboard our boates without feare, and I gave to their captaine a bason, and two strings of Margarets, and they shewed us about 5 duckats weight of gold, but they required so much for it that wee would not take it, because the Frenchmen and we had agreed to make price of our goods all in one boat, and the price being made then every man to sell in his owne boat, and no man to give more then the price which should be set by us al. This place is called Bulle, and here the Negros were very glad of our Negros, and shewed them all the friendship they could, when they had told them that they were the men that were taken away being now againe brought by us.

The Negros here shewed us that a moneth since there were 3 ships that fought together, & the two shippes put the other to flight: and before that at the castle of Mina there were 4 ships of the Portugals which met with one Frenchman, which Frenchman caused them all to flee, which shippe we tooke to be the Roebarge: for the Frenchmen of our company judged her to be thereabout that time with her pinnasse also. And further, that after her went a shippe of twelve score named the Shaudet all alone, and after her a ship of fourescore, and both for the Mina. And there were two others also which they left, one at Cape Verde called the Leuriere of Diepe, and another at the river De Sestos, besides these 3 which all this time be in our company, whose names be these:

The Espoier of Hableneff which is the Admirall, whose captaine is Denis Blundell.

The Leuriere of Roan Viceadmirall, whose master is Jerome Baudet.

The other is of Hunfleur whose master is called John de Orleans.

The sixteenth day I went along the shore with two pinnaesses of the Frenchmen, and found a Baie and a fresh river, and after that went to a towne called Hanta, twelve leagues beyond the Cape. At this towne our Negros were well knowen, and the men of the towne wept for joy when they saw them, and demanded of them where Anthonie and Binne had bene: and they told them that they had bene at London in England, and should bee brought home

the next voyage. So after this, our Negros came aboard with other Negros which brought a weight with them, which was so small that wee could not give them the halfe of that which they demaunded for it.

The Negros here told us that there were five Portugall shippes at the Castle and one pinnasse, and that the Portugals did much harme to their Countrey, and that they lived in feare of them, and we told them againe, that we would defend them from the Portugals whereof they were very glad.

The 17 day we went a shore and the Frenchmen with us, but did no great good, the Negros were so unreasonable, we sold 80 Manellios for one ounce of gold.

Then wee departed and went to Shamma, and went into the river with five boates well appointed with men and ordinance, and with our noises of trumpets and drummes, for we thought here to have found some Portugals but there were none: so wee sent our Negros on shore, and after them went divers of us, and were very well received, and the people were very glad of our Negros, specially one of their brothers wives, and one of their aunts, which received them with much joy, and so did all the rest of the people, as if they had bene their naturall brethren: we comforted the captaine and told him that hee should not feare the Portugals, for wee would defend him from them: whereupon we caused our boats to shoote off their bases and harquebusses, and caused our men to come on shore with their long bowes, and they shot before the captaine, which he, with all the rest of the people, wondred much at, specially to see them shoot so farre as they did, and assaied to draw their bowes but could not. When it grew to be late, we departed to our ships, for we looked every houre for the Portugals. And here the Negros shewed us that there was an English ship at the Mina, which had brought one of the Negros againe, which Robert Gaynsh tooke away.

The 18 day we went into the river with no lesse strength then before, and concluded with the Negros to give them for every Fuffe two yards and three nailes of Cloth, and to take for it one angel-duckat: so that we tooke in all 70 Duckats, whereof the Frenchmen had fortie, and wee thirtie.

The nineteenth day wee went a shore every man for himselfe, and tooke a good quantitie of gold, and I for

my part tooke foure pound and two ounces and a halfe of gold, and our Hartes boate tooke one and twentie ounces. At night the Negros shewed us that the next day the Portugals would be with us by land or by Sea: and when wee were ready to depart, we heard divers harquebusses shoote off in the woods by us which wee knew to bee Portugals, which durst come no nearer to us, but shot off in the woods to see if they could feare us and so make us to leave our traffique.

The 20 day we manned our five boats, and also a great boat of the Frenchmens with our men and the Admirals, 12 of them in their murrians and corslets, and the rest all well appoynted, with foure trumpets, a drumme and a Fife, and the boate all hanged with streamers of Silke and pendants very faire, and went into the river and traffiqued, our man of warre lying off and on in the river to waft us, but we heard no more of the Portugals. This day the Negros told us that there were certain ships come into Hanta, which towne is about 2 leagues to the Westward of this place.

This 21 day we manned our boats againe & went to a place a league from this to the Westwards, and there found many Negros with another Captaine, and sold at the same rate that wee had done with the others.

The 22 day we went a shore againe and traffiqued in like sort quietly, and I tooke 4 pound and six ounces of gold.

The 23 day about night the Negros with their captaine came to us and told us that the king of Portugals ships were departed from the Castle, meaning the next day to plie to the windward to come to us, giving us warning to take heed to our selves: we told them againe that wee were very glad of their comming, and would be ready at all times to meet them, and to assure them that we were glad of it, wee sounded our trumpets, and shot off certaine bases whereof the Negros were very glad, and requested us that if the Portugals sought to hinder our traffique, to shew them all the extremitie that we could, promising us that if they came by land, they would advertise us thereof.

The 24 we went a shore with our trumpets and drummes, and traffiqued, and I bade the captaine of the towne to dinner.

The 25 day we being a shore, our ships had descried

five sailes of the king of Portugals, & our ships shot off ordinance to call us away, and we threw every man his caske a shore for water, and went to our ships, and by that time we had weighed and given order one to another what to do, it was night, so y<sup>t</sup> that night nothing was done. We set saile and lay close all night to get the wind if we could: we were neere some of them, and one shot off a piece which wee judged to be the Admirall of the Portugals, to cause the rest to come and speake with him: so all this night we made our selves ready for fight.

The 26 we came in with the shore and had sight of the Portugals where they rid at anker, and we bare with them, and we gave all our men white scarffes, to the ende that the Frenchmen might know one the other if we came to boording: but the night came upon us that we could not fetch them, but we ankered within demie-Culvering shot of them.

The 27 day we weighed and so did the Portugals, and about eleven of the clocke wee had the wind of them, and then we went roome with them, which when they perceived, they kept about to the shore againe, and wee after them, and when they were so neere the shore that they could not well runne any further on that boord, they kept about againe, and lay to the Seaward, and then we kept about with them, and were a head of them, and tooke in our topsailes and taried for them: and the first that came up was a small barke which sailed so well that she cared not for any of us, and caried good ordinance: and assoone as she came up, she shot at us, and overshot us, and then she shot at the Admirall of the Frenchmen, and shot him through in two or three places, and went foorth a head of us, because we were in our fighting sailes: then came up another caravell under our Lee in like case which shot at us and at the Frenchman, and hurt two of his men and shot him through the maine maste. And after them came up the Admirall under our Lee also, but he was not able to doe us so much harme as the small shippes, because he caried ordinance higher then they, neither were we able to make a good shot at any of them, because our shippe was so weake in the side, that she laid all her ordinance in the Sea: wherefore we thought to lay the great ship aboard, and as soone as the French Admirall went roome with him, he fell a

sterne and could not fetch him, and after he fell a sterne of two caravels more and could fetch none of them, but fell to Leeward of them all : and when he was to Leeward, he kept about to the shoreward, and left us, and then we put out our topsailes and gave them chase, and both the other Frenchmen kept the wind, and would not come neere us, and our owne ship was a sterne so that she could not come to us : and after we had folowed them about two houres to the seaward, they kept about againe towards the shore, thinking to pay us as they went along by, and to have the wind of the French Admirall which before ran in towards the shore, and we kept about with them, and kept still the wind of them thinking that our Viceadmiral and the other would have folowed us as wee willed them to do : but after that the Portugall was past by them, and every one had shot at us and our Viceadmirall, both our Viceadmirall and the two Frenchmen, & our owne pinnasse left us in the laps, and ran to seaward, and we ran still along, and kept the wind of them to succour the French Admirall, who was under all of their Lees, and when they met with him, every one went roome with him, and gave him the broad side, and after they cast about againe, and durst not boord him, because they sawe us in the weather of them, or els without doubt they had taken or sunke them, for three of them which were the smallest, went so fast that it was not possible for a ship to boord them, and caried such ordinance that if they had had the weather of us, they would have troubled 3 of the best ships that we had, and as for their Admirall and Viceadmirall they were both notable appointed.

When the Frenchman was cleare of them, hee laie as neere the winde as hee could, and wee followed them still towards the shore, and then the Admirall ranne to Sea after the rest, and left us all alone : and when the Portugals perceived that we were alone, and gave them chase, they kept about with us and we with them, to keepe the wind of them, and we ranne still within base shot of them, but they shot not at us, because we had the weather of them, and sawe that they could do us no hurt : and thus we folowed one another until night, and in the night we lost them, but as for all the rest of our ships, they packed on all the sailes that they could and ranne to sea, and as they themselves confesse, they



praied for us, but as for helpe at their hands we could have none.

The 28 day we met with our Viceadmirall, our pin-nasse, and two of the Frenchmen, and the third was fled which was a ship of fourscore tunne, and belonged to Roan: and when I had the sight of the rest of our ships, I tooke our skiffe and went to them to know why they lost us in such a case, and John Kire made me answere that the ship would neither reare nor steere, and as for the pin-nasse, John Davis made me answere that she would doe nothing, and that he could cary her no further, for her rudder was broken, so that the Hart was glad to towe her. Then I went to the French Admirall, and found himselfe to be a man of good stomacke, but the one halfe of his men were sicke and dead: and then I talked with the smaller Frenchman, and he made mee answere that he could doe nothing, saying, that his ship would beare no saile, and had 16 of his men dead and sicke, so he made us plaine answere that he was able to doe nothing. After this the Frenchmen durst not anker for feare of the Portugales.

The 29 day the master of the pin-nasse came to us and sayd that they were not able to keepe her any longer, and then wee viewed her and seeing there was no remedie, her rudder with all the iron worke being broken both aloft and belowe, wee agreed to breake her up and to put the men into the Hart. So we tooke out of her foure bases, one anker, and certaine fire wood, and set her on fire, and afterwards ran along the coast.

The thirtie day we went in to the shore, and spake with certaine Negros, who told us that some French shippes had bene there, but wee could not bargaine with them they were so unreasonable.

The 31 day I went to shore but did not traffike.

The 1 day of Februarie we weighed, seeing we could not bring the Negros to any reason, and came to another place which standeth upon an hill.

The third day I went to a towne foure leagues from us, and shot off two pieces, and the Captaine came to us, and I sent Thomas Rippen a land who knew the Captaine, and assoone as he came on shore the Captaine knew him and divers of the Negros who then began to aske for mee, and having told the Captaine that I was in the boate, hee made no longer tarying but by and by caused

two boates to be put to the Sea, and came to me himsele, and when he sawe me, he cryed to me before hee came to the boat and seemed to be the gladdest man alive, and so did all the companie that knew mee, and I gave him a reward as the maner of the Countrey is, and caused the Frenchmen to give another, promising the next day to give him wine: and that night because it was late, he would not talke of any price, but left me a pledge, and tooke another of me and so departed.

The 4 day going on shore, I found that the ships of France which had bin there, had done much hurt to our markets, but yet I tooke five ounces and a halfe of gold.

The fift day I tooke eight ounces and one eight part of gold: but I saw that the Negros perceived the difference in Cloth betwixt ours and that which the Frenchmen had, which was better, and broader then ours: and then I told captaine Blundel that I would goe to the Leeward, because I perceived that being there where his Cloth was sold; I should do no good, whereof hee was sorie.

The 6 day there came an Almade & Negros aboard me, requesting me to come to their towne for they had much gold and many marchants: and so I went and found their old Captaine gone, and another in his place: but this night wee did no good, because the marchants were not come downe: so he required a pledge which I let him have, and tooke another of him.

The 7 day George our Negro came to us, who had followed us at the east 30 leagues in a small boat, and when he came, the Negros and we soone concluded of price. I tooke this day five pound and one ounce, and 3 quarters of gold. This Negro we had left at Shamma at the time of the fight, who said that he saw the fight being on shore, and that when we were gone from the Portugals, the Portugals came into their river, and told them that the Englishmen had slaine two Portugals with a piece, which was in deed out of our ship, and they required harbour there, but the captaine of Shamma would not suffer them.

The 8 day we tooke nineteene pound three ounces and a halfe.

The 9 day we tooke two pound six ounces and a halfe.

The 10 day three pound.

The 11 day came to us Jerome Bawdet the Viceadmirall of the Frenchmen and his pinnasse, and he shewed us

that where we left them there was no good to be done, and sayd he would goe to the Eastward, but wee told him hee should not: and thereupon commaunded him to goe to his company which he was appointed to bee with, which hee refused to doe untill wee had shot three or foure pieces at their pinnasse, and when the ship sawe that, she kept about, and ranne to Seaward, and durst come no neerer to us, so the pinnasse went after her. We tooke this day one pound five ounces.

The 12 day there came one of the Frenchmens pinnasses to us laden with cloth, and would have made sale, but I would not suffer him, and therefore tooke him and sent him aboard of our ship, and caused him to ride there all day. We tooke five pound six ounces and a halfe.

The 14 day we tooke of some Negros 4 ounces of gold.

The 16 we came to another towne.

The 17 day I went a shore and understood that 3 of the Portugall ships were at the Castle, and the other two at Shamma. The captaine of this towne was gone to the principall towne, to speake with their king, and would returne shortly as they told me, and so he did, and brought me a weight and measure, and I sent a man to see that principall towne, and their king. The Portugall ships rid so neere us, that within 3 houres they might be with us, yet were all contented to tary for sales.

The 18 day certaine of the kings servants came to us, and we tooke one pound two ounces, and one eight part of gold.

The 19 day we tooke five pound one ounce.

The 20 day one pound and foure ounces.

The 21 I tooke foure pound and one ounce, and the Negroes enquired for fine cloth, and I opened two pieces which were not fine enough, as they sayd, but seeing that we had no other, they bought of them. At night I provided a gift, or present, and sent one marchant and a mariner with it to the king, to certifie him of our want of victuals, by reason whereof we could not stay long: for in deed we searched our ship, and the most part of our beere was leaked out of all our barrells.

The 22 day we tooke three ounces and a halfe.

The 23 our men came from the king Abaan, and told us, that he had received them very friendly, but he had litle gold, but promised, if we would tary, to send into all his countrey for gold for us, and he willed our men

at their comming home to speake to our king to send men and provision into his countrey, to build a castle, and to bring Tailors with them, to make them apparell, and good wares, and they should be sure to sell them: but for that present the Frenchmen had filled them full of cloth.

This towne standeth about foure leagues up in the land, and is, by the estimation of our men, as big in circuit as London, but the building is like to the rest of the countrey. They have about this Towne great store of the wheate of the Countrey, and they judge, that on one side of the towne there were one thousand rikes of Wheate, and another sort of Corne which is called Mill, which is much used in Spaine. About this towne they keepe good watch every night, and have to warne the watchmen certaine cordes made fast over their wayes, which lead into the towne, and certaine bells upon them, so that if any man touch the cordes, the bells ring, and then the watchmen runne foorth of their watch houses to see what they be: and if they be enemies, if they passe the cord, they have provision with certaine nets hanged over the wayes, where they must passe, to let fall upon them, and so take them, and otherwise then by the wayes it is not possible to enter the towne, by reason of the thickets and bushes which are about the same, and the towne is also walled round about with long cords, and bound together with sedge and certaine barkes of trees.

When our men came to the towne, it was about five of the clock in the morning, for there they travell alwayes in the night by reason of the heate of the day: and about nine of the clocke, the king sent for them, for there may no man come to him before he be sent for, and then they would have caried their present with them: but the Negros told them, that they must bee three times brought before him, before they might offer their gift: and when they came to him, he talked with them, and received them very friendly, and kept them about halfe an houre, and then they departed, and after that sent for them againe three times, and last of all, they brought him their present, which he received thankfully, and then caused a pot of wine of Palme to be brought foorth, and made them drinke: and before they drinke, both here and in all the Countrey, they use certaine ceremonies.

First, they bring foorth their pot of drinke, and then they make a hole in the ground, & put some of the drinke into it, and they cast the earth upon it, which they digged forth before, and then they set the pot upon the same, then they take a litle thing made of a goord, and with that they take out of the same drinke, and put it upon the ground in three places, and in divers places they have certaine bunches of the pils of Palme trees set in the ground before them, and there they put in some drinke, doing great revèrence in all places to the same Palme trees.

All these ceremonies first done, the king tooke a cup of gold, and they put him in wine, and hee dranke of it, and when he dranke, the people cried all with one voice, Abaan, Abaan, with certaine other words, like as they cry commonly in Flanders, upon the Twelke night, The kinning drinks: and when he had drunke, then they gave drinke to every one, and that done, the king licensed them to depart, and every one that departeth from him boweth 3 times towards him, and waveth with both hands together, as they bow, and then do depart. The king hath commonly sitting by him 8 or 10 ancient men with gray beards.

This day we tooke one pound and 10 ounces of gold.

The 24 day we tooke 3 pound and 7 ounces.

The 25 we tooke 3 ounces and 3 quarters.

The 26 we tooke 2 pound and 10 ounces.

The 27 two pound and five ounces.

The 28 foure pound, and then seeing that there was no more gold to be had, we weighed and went foorth.

The first day of March we came to a towne called Mowre, but we found no boats nor people there: but being ready to depart, there came two Almades to us from another towne, of whom we tooke two ounces and a halfe of golde: and they tolde us that the Negroes that dwelled at Mowre were gone to dwell at Lagova.

The second day we came thwart of the castle, and about two leagues off, and there saw all the five Portugall ships at anker, and this day by night we fetched Shamma.

The third day we had sight of one tall ship, of about two hundred tunnes, in the weather of us, and within lesse then two leagues of our ships, and then we saw two more a sterne of her, the one a ship of five hundred or

more, and the other a pinnesse: and these were a new fleet at that present arrived out of Portugall. Whereupon we wayed, and made shift to double out of the land, and then the winde comming to the South-southwest, the Hart going roome with them fell three leagues to the leewards of us. These Portugals gave us the chase from nine of the clocke in the morning, till five at night, but did no good against us. At last, we perceiving the Admirall to be farre a sterne of his company, because his maine topmast was spent, determined to cast about with them againe, because we were sure to weather them, and the winde being as it was, it was our best course: but the Hart was so farre to the leeward, that we could not doe it, except we would lose her company, so that we tooke in some of our sailes, and went roome with him: which when he perceived, he looffed to, and was able to lie as neere as he did before. At night, when we came to him, he would not speake to us: then we asked of his company why he went so roome; and they made excuse that they were able to beare no saile by, for feare of bearing their foretopmast over boord: but this was a simple excuse.

The fourth day, being put from our watring place we began to seethe our meat in salt water, and to rebate our allowance of drinke, to make it indure the longer: and so concluded to set our course thence, for our owne cuntry.

The 12 of March I found my selfe thwart of Cape das palmas.

The 16 day we fell with the land, which we judged to be the Cape Mensurado, about which place is very much high land.

The 18 day we lost sight of the Hart, and I thinke the wilfull Master ran in with the shore of purpose to lose us, being offended that I tolde him of his owne folly.

The 27 day we fell in sight of two small Ilands, which lie by our reckoning sixe leagues off the headland of Sierra Leona: and before we came in sight of the same Ilands, we made our reckoning to be forty or thirty leagues at the least off them. Therefore all they that saile this way are to regard the currents which set North-northwest, or els they may be much deceived.

The 14 of Aprill we met with two great ships of



Portugall, which although they were in the weather of us, yet came not roome with us, whereby we judged that they were bound for Calicut.

The 18 day we were in the heighth of Cape verde.

The 24 we were directly under the tropike of Cancer.

The first day of May Henry Wilson our Steward died : and the next day died John Underwood.

The fift day we were in the heighth of S. Michael.

The 23 we had sight of a shippe in the weather of us, which was a Frenchman of 90 tunne, who came with us as stoutly and as desperately as might be, and coming neere us perceived that we had bene upon a long voyage, and judging us to be weake, as in deed we were, came neerer us, and thought to have layed us aboard, & there stept up some of his men in armour, and commanded us to strike saile : whereupon we sent them some of our stufte, crossebarres, and chaineshot, and arrowes, so thicke, that it made the upper worke of their shippe flie about their eares, and we spoiled him with all his men, and toare his shippe miserably with our great ordinance, and then he began to fall a sterne of us, and to packe on his sailes, and get away : and we seeing that, gave him foure or five good pieces more for his farewell ; and thus we were rid of this French man, who did us no harme at all. We had aboard us a French man a Trumpetter, who being sicke, and lying in his bed, tooke his trumpet notwithstanding, and sounded till he could sound no more, and so died.

The 28 we conferred together, and agreed to go into Severne, and so to Bristoll, but the same night we had sight of the Lizard, and by reason of the winde, we were not able to double the lands end to go into Severne, but were forced to beare in with the Lizard.

The 29 day, about nine of the clocke in the morning, we arrived safely in Plimmouth, and praised God for our good arrivall.

The third and last voyage of M. William Towrson to the coast of Guinie, and the Castle de Mina, in the yeere 1577.

THE thirtieth day of January, the yeere abovesayd, we departed out of the sound of Plimmouth, with three ships, and a pinnesse, whereof the names are these :

1 The Minion Admirall of the fleet.

2 The Christopher Viceadmirall.

3 The Tyger.

4 A pinnesse called the Unicorne: being all bound for the Canaries, and from thence, by the grace of God, to the coast of Guinie.

The next day, being the last of this moneth, we met with two hulks of Dantzick, the one called the Rose, a ship of foure hundred tunnes, and the other called the Unicorne, of an hundred and fifty tunnes, the Master of the Rose was called Nicholas Masse, and the Master of the Unicorne Melchior White, both laden at Bourdeaux, and for the most part with wines. When we came to them, we caused them to hoise foorth their boats, and to come and speake with us, and we examined every one of them apart, what French mens goods they had in their shippes, and they sayd they had none: but by the contrarieties of their tales, and by the suspicion which we gathered of their false chartar-parties, we perceived that they had French mens goods in them: we therefore caused one of them to fetch up his bills of lading, and because he denied that he had any, we sent certaine with him, who caused him to goe to the place where he had hid them, and by the differences of his billes of lading, and his talke, we gathered, as before, that they had Frenchmens goods. Whereupon we examined them straightly, and first the Purser of the Unicorne, which was the smaller shippe, confessed that they had two and thirty tunnes and a hogshead of a French mans. Then we examined the Master in like case, and he acknowledged the same to be true. Then we examined also the Master of the great ship, and he confessed that he had an hundred and eight and twenty tunnes of the same French mans, and more they would not confesse, but sayd that all the rest was laden by Peter Lewgues of Hamburg, to be delivered to one Henry Summer of Camphire, notwithstanding all their letters were directed to Hamburg, and written in Dutch without, and within in French.

When they had confessed that they had thus much French mens goods within their shippes, we conferred together what was best to be done with them. William Cretton and Edward Selman were of the opinion, that it should be good either to carry them into Spaine, and there to make sale of the goods, or els into Ireland, or to returne backe againe into England with them, if

the winde would permit it. But I, waying what charge we had of our Masters, first by mouth, and afterwards by writing, that for no such matter we should in any case prolong the time, for feare of losing the voyage, and considering that the time of the yeere was very farre spent, and the money that we should make of the wines not very much, in respect of the commodity which we hoped for by the voyage, perswaded them that to goe into Ireland, the winde being Easterly as it was, might be an occasion that we should be locked in there with that winde, and so lose our voyage: and to cary them into Spaine, seeing they sailed so ill, that having all their sailes abroad, we kept them company onely with our foresailes, and without any toppe sailes abroad, so that in every two dayes sailing they would have hindered us more then one; and besides that (the winde being Easterly) we should not be able to seaze the coast with them: besides all this the losse of time when we came thither was to be considered, whereupon I thought it not good to carry them any further.

And as for carying them into England, although the winde had bene good, as it was not, considering what charge we had of our Masters, to shift us out of the way for feare of a stay by reason of the warres, I held it not in any wise convenient.

But notwithstanding all this, certeine of our company not being herewith satisfied went to our Master to know his opinion therein, who made them a plaine answere, that to cary them into any place, it was not the best way nor the profit of their Masters. And he tolde them further, that if the time were prolonged one moneth longer before they passed the Cape, but a few men would go the voyage. All these things considered, we all paused, and determined at the last, that every man should take out of the hulks so much as he could well bestow for necessaries, and the next morning to conclude what should be further done with them. So we tooke out of them for us foureteene tunnes and a halfe of wine, and one tunne we put into the pinnesse.

More we tooke out one hogshhead of Aquavitæ.

Sixe cakes of rozzen.

A small halser for ties: and certeine chesnuts.

The Christopher tooke out,

Ten tunnes of wine, and one hogshhead.

A quantity of Aquavitæ.

Shall-lines.

Chesnuds.

Sixe double bases with their chambers. And their men broke up the hulks chests, and tooke out their compasses, and running glasses, the sounding leade and line, and candles: and cast some of their beefe over boord, and spoiled them so much, that of very pity we gave them a compasse, a running glasse, a lead and a line, certaine bread and candles, and what apparell of theirs we could finde in their ship, we gave them againe, and some money also of that which William Crompton tooke for the ransom of a poore Frenchman, who being their Pilot downe the River of Bordeaux, they were not able to set him a shore againe, by reason of the foule weather.

The Tyger also tooke out of the smaller hulke sixe or seven tunnes of wine, one hogshead of Aquavitæ, and certeine rozzen, and two bases he tooke out of the great hulke.

The first day of February in the morning we all came together againe saving W. Crompton who sent us word that he was contented to agree to that order which we should take.

Now Edward Selman was of this opinion, that it was not best to let the ships depart, but put men into them to cary them into England, which thing neither we nor our Master would agree unto, because we thought it not good to unman our ships going outward, considering how dangerous the time was: so that in fine we agreed to let them depart, and give them the rest of the wine which they had in their ships of the Frenchmens for the freight of that which we had taken, and for their ordinance, rozzen, aquavitæ, chesnuds, and other things which the company had taken from them. So we received a bill of their handes, that they confessed how much Frenchmens goods they had, and then we let them depart.

The 10 day we reckoned our selves to be 25 leagues from the Grand Canarie, and this day about nine of the clocke our pinnesse brake her rudder, so that we were forced to towe her at the sterne of the Minion, which we were able to doe, and yet kept company with the rest of our ships. About eleven of the clocke this day we had sight of the Grand Canarie.

The 11 day when we came to the Iland we perceived

that it was the Ile of Tenerif, & then in deed wee had sight of the Grand Canarie, which lieth 12 leagues to the Eastwards of Tenerif: and because the road of Tenerif is foule ground, and nothing was there to be gotten for the helping of our pinnesse, having the winde large, we agreed to go with the Grand Canarie.

The 12 day we came into the roade of the towne of Canarie, which lieth one league from the same towne. And after we had shot off divers pieces of ordinance to salute the towne and the castle, the governour and capitaines of the Iland sent to us which were the captaines of the ships, requiring us to come a shore. And when we came to them they received us very frendly, offering us their owne Jennets to ride to the towne, and what other friendship they could shew us: and we went to the towne with two English Marchants which lay there, and remained in their house that day. The second day following we came aboard to deliver our marchandise, and to get our pinnesse mended.

The 14 day came into the road the Spanish fleet which was bound to the Emperours Indies, which were in number nineteene saile, whereof sixe were ships of foure hundred and five hundred a piece, the rest were of two hundred, an hundred and fifty, and of an hundred. When they were come to an ancre they saluted us with ordinance, and so we did them in like case. And afterwards the Admirall (who was a knight) sent his pinnesse to desire me to come to him; and when I came to him he received me friendly, and was desirous to heare somewhat of the state of England and Flanders. And after he had made me a banquet, I departed; and I being gone unto the boat, hee caused one of his gentlemen to desire Francisco the Portugall, which was my interpreter, to require me to furl my flagge, declaring that hee was Generall of the Emperours fleet. Which thing (being come aboard) Francisco shewed me: and because I refused to furl it, and kept it foorth still, certaine of the souldiers in the ships shot divers harquebush shot about the ship, and over the flagge: and at the same time there came certaine gentlemen aboard our ship to see her: to whom I sayd, that if they would not cause those their men to leave shooting, I would shoot the best ordinance I had thorow their sides. And when they perceived that I was offended, they departed, and caused their men of warre

and souldiers to shoot no more, and afterwards they came to me againe, and tolde me that they had punished their men. That done, I shewed them the ship, and made them such cheere as I could, which they received very thankfully: and the day following they sent for mee to dine with them, and sent me word that their General was very sorry that any man should require me to furl my flagge, and that it was without his consent: and therefore he requested me not to thinke any ungentlenesse to be in him, promising that no man of his should misdemeane himselfe.

The 17 day we set saile in the road of Grand Canarie, and proceeded on our voyage.

The 20 in the morning we had sight of the coast of Barbarie, and running along the shore we had sight of Rio del Oro, which lieth almost under the tropike of Cancer.

The 21 day we found ourselves to be in 20 degrees and a halfe, which is the heighth of Cape Blank.

The 25 we had sight of the land in the bay to the Northward of Cape Verde.

The 26 I tooke Francisco and Francis Castelin with me, and went into the pinnesse, and so went to the Tyger which was neerer the shore then the other ships, and went aboard her, and with her and the other ships we ranne West and by South, and West-southwest, untill about foure of the clocke, at which time we were hard aboard the Cape, and then we ran in Southwest, and beyond the Cape about foure leagues we found a faire Iland, and besides that two or three Ilands, which were of very high rocks, being full of divers sorts of sea-foule, and of pigeons, with other sorts of land-foules, and so many, that the whole Iland was covered with the dung thereof, and seemed so white as if the whole Iland had bene of chalke; and within those Ilands was a very faire bay, and hard aboard the rocks eightene fadom water, and faire ground. And when we perceived the bay, and understanding that the Frenchmen had a great trade there, which we were desirous to know, we came to an ancre with the Tyger. And after that the Minion and the Christopher ancred in like case: then we caused the pinnesse to runne beyond another Cape of land, to see if there were any place to trade in there.

It being neere night I tooke our cocke and the Tygers



skiffe, and went to the Iland, where we got certaine foules like unto Gannards: and then I came aboard againe and tooke two of the Gannards which we had taken, and caried them to the captaine of the Christopher, and when I had talked with him, I found him not willing to tary there, neither was I desirous to spend any long time there, but onely to attempt what was to be done. The Master of the Christopher tolde me he would not tary, being not bound for that place.

The 27 the Captaine of the Tyger and Edward Selman came to me, and John Makeworth from the Christopher, and then we agreed to take the pinnesse, & to come along the shore, because that where we rid no Negros came to us, and the night before our pinnesse brought us word that there was a very faire Iland. And when I came beyond the point I found it so, and withall a goodly bay, and we saw upon the maine certaine Negros which waved us on shore, and then we came to an ancre with the pinnesse, and went a shore with our cocke, and they shewed us where their trade was, and that they had Elephants teeth, muske, & hides, and offered us to fetch downe their Captaine, if we would send a man with them, and they would leave a pledge for him: then we asked them when any ship had bene there; and some of them sayd not in eight moneths, others, in sixe moneths, and others in foure, and that they were Frenchmen.

Then we perceiving the Christopher not willing to tary, departed from them, & set saile with the pinnesse and went aboard the Tyger.

The 10 day of March we fell with the coast of Guinea, five leagues to the Eastward of Cape de Monte, beside a river called Rio das Palmas.

The 11 we went to the shore, and found one man that could speake some Portuguese, who tolde us that there were three French ships passed by; one of them two moneths past, and the other one moneth past. At this place I received nineteene Elephants teeth, and two ounces and halfe a quarter of golde.

The 12 we set saile to go to the river de Sestos.

The 13 at night we fell with the same river.

The 14 day we sent in our boats to take water, and romaged our shippes, and delivered such wares to the Christopher and Tyger, as they had need of.

The 15 we came together, and agreed to send the Tyger

to another river to take in her water, and to see what she could do for graines. After that we tooke marchandise with us, and went into the river, and there we found a Negro which was borne in Lisbone, left there by a ship of Portugal which was burned the last yere at this river in fighting with three Frenchmen; and he told us further, that two moneths past there were three Frenchmen at this place; and sixe weeks past there were two French ships at the river; and fifteene dayes past there was one. All which ships were gone towards the Mina. This day we tooke but few graines.

The 19 day considering that the Frenchmen were gone before us, and that by reason of the unholosome aires of this place foureteene of our men in the Minion were fallen sicke, wee determined to depart, and with all speed to go to the Mina.

The 21 wee came to the river de Potos, where some of our boats went in for water, and I went in with our cocke, and tooke 12 small Elephants teeth.

The 23. day, after we had taken as many teeth as we could get, about nine of the clocke we set saile to go towards the Mina.

The 31 we came to Hanta, and made sale of certaine Manillios.

The first Aprill we had sight of five saile of Portugals, whereupon we set saile and went off to sea to get the winde of them, which wee should have had if the winde had kept his ordinary course, which is all the day at the Southwest, and West-southwest: but this day with a flaw it kept all the day at the East, and East-southeast, so that the Portugals had the winde of us, and came roome with the Tyger and us untill night, and brought themselves all save one, which sailed not so well as the rest, within shot of us: then it fell calme, and the winde came up to the Southwest, howbeit it was neere night, and the Christopher, by meanes of her boat, was about foure leagues to the leewards of us. We tacked and ranne into the weather of the Admirall, and three more of his company, and when we were neere him we spake to him, but he would not answere. Then we cast about and lay in the weather of him; and casting about he shot at us, and then wee shot at him, and shot him foure or five times thorow. They shot divers times thorow our sailes, but hurt no man. The Tyger and the pinnesse, because

it was night, kept out their sailes, & would not meddle with them. After we had thus fought together 2 houres or more, and would not lay him aboard because it was night, we left shooting one at the other, and kept still the weather of them. Then the Tyger and the pinnesse kept about and came to us, and afterward being neere the shore, wee three kept about and lay to the sea, and shot off a piece to give warning to the Christopher.

This night about 12 of the clocke, being very litle winde, and the Master of the Tyger asleepe, by the ill worke of his men the ship fel aboard of us, and with her sheare-hooks cut our maine saile, and her boat being betwixt us was broken and suncke, with certaine marchandise in her, and the ships wales were broken with her outleger: yet in the ende we cleared her without any more hurt, but she was in hazzard to be broken downe to the water.

The second day we had sight of the Christopher, and were neere unto her, so that I tooke our boat and went to her. And when I came thither, they shewed me, that after the Portugals had left us, they went all roome with him, and about twelve a clocke at night met him, and shot at him, and hee at them, and they shot him thorow the sailes in divers places, and did no other great hurt. And when we had understood that they had bene with him as well as with us, we agreed altogether to seeke them (if wee might finde them) and keepe a weather our places of traffique.

The third day we ran all day to the Southwestwards to seeke the Portugals, but could have no sight of them, and halled into the shore.

The fourth day, when we had sight of land, we found that the currant had set us thirty leagues to the Eastwards of our reckoning, which we woondered at: for the first land we made was Lagua. Then I caused our boat to be manned, and the Christophers also, and went to the shore and tooke our Negro with us. And on shore we learned that there were foure French ships upon the coast; one at Perinnen, which is six leagues to the Westward of Lagua: another at Weamba, which is foure leagues to the Estward of Lagua: a third at Perecow, which is foure leagues to the Eastward of Weamba: and the fourth at Egrand, which is foure leagues to the Eastward of Perecow.

When we had intelligence of these newes we agreed to go to the Eastwards with the French men to put them from their traffique, and shot off two or three pieces in our boats to cause the ships to way: and having bene about one houre under saile, we had sight of one of the French men under saile, halling off from Weamba to whome we gave chase, and agreed in the night for feare of overshooting them, that the Minion should first come to ancre, and after that about three houres, the Tyger and the Christopher to beare along all night.

The 5. day we found three of the French ships at ancre: one called La foye de Honfleur, a ship of 220 tunnes, another called the Ventereuse or smal Roebarge of Honfleur, of 100 tunnes, both appertaining to Shawdet of Honfleur, the third was called the Mulet de Batuille a ship of 120 tunnes, and this ship belonged to certaine Marchants of Roan.

When we came to them, we determined to lay the Admiral aboard, the Christopher the Viceadmirall, and the Tyger the smallest: but when we came nere them they wayed, and the Christopher being the headmost & the weathermost man, went roome with the Admirall: the Roebarge went so fast that wee could not fetch her. The first that we came to was the Mulet, and her wee layed aboard, and our men entred and tooke her, which ship was the richest except the Admirall: for the Admirall had taken about 80 pound of golde, and the Roebarge had taken but 22 pound; and all this we learned of the Frenchmen, who knew it very well: for they were all in consort together, and had bene upon the coast of Mina two moneths and odde dayes: howbeit the Roebarge had bene there before them with another ship of Diepe, and a caravel, which had beaten all the coast, and were departed one moneth before our arriving there, and they three had taken about 700 pound of golde.

Assoone as we had layed the ship aboard, and left certaine men in her to keepe her, we set saile and gave chase to the other two ships, and chased them all day and night, and the next day untill three a clocke in the afternoone, but we could not fetch them: and therfore seeing that we brought our selves very farre to leeward of our place, we left the chase, and kept about againe to go with the shore.

The 7 day I sent for the capitaine, marchants & Masters

of the other ships, and when they came we weighed the golde which we had from the Frenchmen, which weighed fifty pound and five ounces of golde: this done, we agreed to put men out of every ship into the prise to keepe her.

The 12 day we came to the further place of the Mina called Egrand, and being come to an ancre, discharged all the marchants goods out of the prise, and would have sold the ship with the victuals to the Frenchmen, but because she was leake they would not take her, but desired us to save their lives in taking them into our owne ships: then we agreed to take out the victuals and sinke the ship, and divide the men among our ships.

The 15 at night we made an end of discharging the prise, and divided all the Frenchmen except foure which were sicke and not able to helpe themselves; which foure both the Christopher and the Tyger refused to take, leaving them in their ship alone in the night, so that about midnight I was forced to fetch them into our ship.

The 15 of April, mooving our company for the voyage to Benin, the most part of them all refused it.

The 16, seeing the unwillingnesse of the company to goe thither, we determined to spend as much time upon the coast as we could, to the end we might make our voyage, and agreed to leave the Minion here at Egrand, the Tyger to go to Pericow which is foure leagues off, and the Christopher to goe to Weamba, which is ten leagues to the weatherward of this place: and if any of them both should have sight of more sailes then they thought good to meddle withall, to come roome with their fellowes: to wit, first the Christopher to come with the Tyger, and then both they to come with us.

We remained in this place called Egrand, untill the last day of April, in which time many of our men fell sicke; and sixe of them died. And here we could have no traffique with the Negros but three or foure dayes in the weeke, and all the rest of the weeke they would not come at us.

The 3 of May not having the pinnesse sent us with cloth from the other ships, as they promised, we solde French cloth, and gave but three yards thereof to every fuffe.

The 5 day the Negros departed, and told us they would come to us againe within foure dayes, which we deter-

mined there to tary, although we had divers of our men sicke.

The 8 day, all our cloth in the Minion being sold, I called the company together, to know whether they would tary the sale of the cloth taken in the prise at this place or no: they answered, that in respect of the death of some of their men, and the present sicknesse of twenty more, they would not tary, but repaire to the other ships, of whom they had heard nothing since the 27 of April: and yet they had our pinnesse with them, onely to cary newes from one to another.

The 9 day we determined to depart hence to our fellowes, to see what they had done, and to attempt what was to be done at the towne of Don John.

The 10 day in the morning we sat saile to seeke the Christopher and the Tyger.

The 11 day the captaine of the Christopher came to us, and told us that they could finde small doings at the places where they had bene.

The 12 William Crompton and I in our small pinnesse went to the Tyger and the Christopher at Perenine.

The 13 we sent away the Tyger to Egrand, because we found nothing to doe at Perenine, worth the tarying for.

The 14 our great pinnesse came to us, and presently we put cloth into her, and sent her backe to Weamba, where she had bene before, and had taken there ten pound of golde.

The 15 the Minion came to us, and the next day we went a shore with our boats, and tooke but one ounce of golde.

The 19 day having set saile we came to an ancre before Mowre, and there we tarried two dayes, but tooke not an ounce of golde.

The 21 we came to an ancre before Don Johns towne.

The 22 we manned our boats and went to shore, but the Negros would not come at us; then the Captaine of the Christopher and I tooke a skiffe and eight men with us, and went and talked with the Negros, and they sayd that they would send a man to the great towne, where Don John himselfe lay, to advertise him of our comming.

The 23 we went a shore againe; and the Negros tolde us that this day the marchants of Don John would come downe: so we tarried there untill night, and no man would



come to us : but divers of the Negros made us signes to depart.

The 24 the Captaine of the Christopher tooke his boat & went to Mowre, and when he came thither, certaine Negros came to him to know the price of his wares, but in the end there came an Almade, which he judged came from the castle, and caused all the Negros to depart from him : and when he saw they would come no more to him, he went a shore and tooke certaine men with him, and then the Negros cast stones at them, & would not suffer them to come up to their towne. And when they saw that, they tooke certaine of the Almades, and put them to the sea, and afterwards departed. The same morning I went a shore at Don Johns towne, and tooke a white flag with me, but none of the Negros could come to me, which caused us to judge that the Portugals were in the towne. After this, our boat came to us well manned, and I sent one man up to the towne with a white flag in his hand, but when he was come thither, all the Negros went away & would not speake with him. Then I sent one alone into the woods after them, but they in no case would come to us. When we saw that, we tooke twelve goats and fourteene hennes, which we found in the towne, and went aboard without doing any further hurt to the towne : and when I came aboard, I found our pinnesse come from Cormatin, which had taken there two pound & five ounces of golde. Then after much ado with the froward Mariners, we went thitherwards with our ship, and the Christopher went to Mowre.

The 25 day the Master of the Christopher sent his boat to the shore for balast, and the Negros would have beaten the company from the shore, whereupon the company resisted them, and slew and hurt divers of them, and having put them to flight, burned their towne, and brake all their boats.

The 26 day our pinnesse came to us from Cormatin, and had taken two pound & eleven ounces of golde : and John Shirife tolde us that the Negros of that place were very desirous to have a ship come backe againe to their towne.

The 27 we wayed and went to Cormatin.

The 28 the Christopher came to us from Mowre, and traffiqued there two dayes.

The second day of June the Tyger came to us from

Egrand, and the pinnesse from Weamba, and they two had taken about fifty pound of golde since they departed from us.

The 4 day we departed from Cormatin to plie up to Shamma, being not able to tary any longer upon the coast for lacke of victuals, and specially of drinke.

The 7 day we had sight of five of the king of Portugals ships, which came to an ancre besides the castle.

The 8 day George and Binny came to us, and brought with them about two pound of golde.

The 10 day in the morning I tooke our small pinnesse, and the Captaine of the Christopher with me, and manned her well, and went to the castle to view the Portugals ships, and there we found one ship of about 300 tunne, and foure caravels: when we had well viewed them, we returned backe againe to our ships which we found seven leagues at sea.

The 11 day in the morning we found our selves wel shot toward Shamma, & the Tyger with us, but the Minion & the pinnesse had not wayed that night, so that we were out of sight of them: and having brought our selves in the weather of the Portugals ships, we came to an ancre to tary for the Minion, or els we might have fetched Shamma. At night the Minion and the pinnesse came up to us, but could not fetch so farre to the weatherward as we, and therefore they ancred about a league a weather The castle, and we waied in the Christopher, and went roome with her.

The 12 day the Tyger came roome with us, and she and the Christopher finding themselves to stand in great need of victuals, would have gone with the Portugals ships to have fetched some of them forth: but our master and company would in no case consent to goe with them, for feare of hanging when we came home: and the other two ships being fully minded to have gone, and fearing that their owne company would accuse them, durst not go to them.

After this, by reason of the want of victuals in the pinnesse, which could receive no victuals from the other shippes, but from us onely, we tooke out all our men, and put twelve Frenchmen into her, and gave them victuals to bring them to Shamma.

The 19 day the Tyger and Minion arrived at Shamma, and the Christopher within two leagues off them, but

could not fetch the winde by reason of the scantnesse of the winde, which hath bene so scant, that in fifteene dayes we have plied to the windewards but twelve leagues, which before we did in one day and a night.

The 20 day I tooke our pinnesse, and went to the towne of Shamma to speake with the captaine, and he tolde me that there was no golde there to be had, nor so much as a hen to be bought, and all by reason of the accord which he had made with the Portugals, and I seeing that departed peaceably from him.

The 21 I put such things as we had into our small pinnesse, and tooke one marchant of our ship, and another of the Tyger, and sent her to Hanta, to attempt, if she could doe any thing there. That night they could do nothing but were promised to have golde the next day.

The next day (which was the 22) being come, we sent our pinnesse to Hanta againe, but there neither the captaine nor the Negros durst traffike with us, but intised us from place to place, and all to no purpose.

This day we put away our pinnesse, with five and twenty Frenchmen in her, and gave them such victuals as we could spare, putting fifteene of them to the ransome of sixe crownes a man.

The 23 of June our pinnesse came to us from Hanta, and tolde us that the Negros had dealt very ill with them, and would not traffike with them to any purpose.

The 24 we tooke our boat and pinnesse and manned them well, and went to the towne of Shamma, and because the Captaine thereof was become subject to the Portugals we burned the towne, and our men seeking the spoile of such trifles as were there found a Portugals chest, wherein was some of his apparell, and his weights, and one letter sent to him from the castle, whereby we gathered that the Portugall had bene there of a long time.

The 25 day, about three of the clocke at afternoone, we set saile, and put into the sea, for our returne to England.

The last day of this moneth we fell with the shore againe, and made our reckoning to be eighteene leagues to the weatherward of the place where we set off. When we came to make the land, we found our selves to be eighteene leagues to the leeward of the place, where we set off, which came to passe, by reason of the extreame

currant that runneth to the Eastward: when we perceived our selves so abused, we agreed to cast about againe, and to lie as neere the winde as we could, to fetch the line.

The seventh of July we had sight of the Ile of S. Thome, and thought to have sought the road to have ancred there: but the next morning the winde came about, and we kept our course.

The ninth, the winde varying, we kept about againe, and fell with the Iland of S. Thome, and seeking the road, were becalmed neere the Iland, and with the currant were put neere the shore, but could have no ground to ancre: so that we were forced to hoise out our pinnesse, and the other ships their skifs to tow from the Iland, which did litle good, but in the end the winde put us three leagues off the shore.

The tenth day the Christopher and the Tyger cast about, whereby we judged them to have agreed together, to goe seeke some ships in the road, and to leave us: our men were not willing to goe after them, for feare of running in with the Iland againe, and of putting our selves into the same danger that we were in the night before: but we shot off a piece, and put out two lights, and they answered us with lights againe: whereupon we kept our course, and thought that they had followed us, but in the morning we could not see them, so that they left us willingly, and we determined to follow them no more. But the eleventh day we altered our opinion and course, and consented to cast about againe for the Iland, to seeke our ships; and about foure of the clocke in the afternoone we met with them.

The 13 we fell againe with the Iland of S. Thome; and the same night we found our selves directly under the line.

This Iland is a very high Iland, and being upon the West side of it, you shall see a very high pike, which is very small, and streight, as it were the steeple of a church, which pike lieth directly under the line, and at the same South end of the Iland to the Westward thereof lieth a small Iland, about a mile from the great Iland.

The third of August we departed from the Ile of S. Thome, & met the winde at the Southwest.

The 12 day we were in the height of Cape verde.

The 22 day we fell with one of the Iles of Cape verde, called The Ile of Salt, and being informed by a Scottish

man that we tooke among the Frenchmen upon the coast, that there were fresh victuals to be had, we came to an ancre there.

The 23 day in the morning we manned our skiffe, and went a shore, and found no houses, but we saw foure men, which kept themselves alwayes farre from us, as for cattell we could finde none, but great store of goats, and they were so wilde, that we could not take above three or foure of them: but there we had good store of fish, and upon a small Iland which lay by the same we had great store of sea-birds.

At night the Christopher brake her cable, and lost an ancre, so that she could tary no longer, so we all wayed, and set saile. Upon the same Iland we left the Scottish man, which was the occasion of our going aland at that place, but how he was left we could not tell: but, as we judged, the people of the Iland found him sleeping, and so caried him away: for at night I went my selfe to the Iland to seeke him, but could hear nothing of him.

The 24 day the Master of the Tyger came aboard us, & tolde us that his men were so weake, and the shippe so leake, that he was not able to keepe her above the water, and therefore requested us to goe backe againe to the Iland, that we might discharge her, and give her up: but we intreated him to take paine with her a while, and we put a French Carpenter into her, to see if he could finde the leake. This day we tooke a view of all our men, both those that were hole, and the sicke also, and we found that in all the three ships, were not above thirty sound men.

The 25 we had sight of the Ile of S. Nicholas, and the day following, of the other Iles, S. Lucia, S. Vincent, and S. Anthony; which foure Iles lie the one from the other Northwest and by West, Southeast and by East.

The 26 we came againe with the Iland of S. Anthony, and could not double the Cape. This day Philip Jones, the Master of the Christopher, came aboard us, who had beene aboard the Tyger, and tolde us that they were not able to keepe the Tyger, because she was leake, and the Master very weake, and sayd further, he had agreed with the Master and the company, that if the next day we could double the Iland, we should runne to the leeward of it, and there discharge her: but if we could not

double it, then to put in betwixt the Iland of S. Vincent and S. Anthony, to see if we could discharge her.

The third day of September I went aboard the Tyger, with the Master and marchants with me, to view the shippe and men: and we found the shippe very leake, and onely six labouring men in her, whereof one was the Master gunner: so that we seeing that they were not able to keepe the ship, agreed to take in the men, and of the goods what we could save, and then to put the ship away.

The fift day we went to discharge the Tyger.

The eight day, having taken out the artillery, goods, victuals, and gold of the Tyger, we gave her up 25 degrees by North the line.

The 27 we had sight of two of the Iles of the Azores, S. Mary, and S. Michael.

The fourth of October we found our selves to be 41 degrees and a halfe from the line.

The sixth day the Christopher came to us, and willed us to put with the Cape, for they also were so weake, that they were not able to keepe the sea, and we being weake also, agreed to goe for Vigo, being a place which many English men frequent.

The 10 day the Christopher went roome with the Cape, but we having a mery wind for England, and fearing the danger of the enemies, which ordinarily lie about the Cape: besides, not knowing the state of our countrey and Spaine, and although it were peace, yet there was little hope of friendship at their hands, considering the voyage that we had made, and we also being so weake, that by force and violence we could come by nothing, and doubting also that the King of Portugall knowing of our being there, might worke some way with the Councell of Spaine to trouble us: and further, considering that if we did put in with any harbor, we should not be able to come out againe, till we sent for more men into England, which would be a great charge, and losse of time, and meanes of many dangers. All these things pondred, we agreed to shoot off two pieces of ordinance, to warne the Christopher, and then we went our course for England: she hearing our pieces followed us, and we carried a light for her, but the next day in the morning it was thicke, and we could not see her in the afternoone neither, so that we suspected that either she was gone with Spaine,



or els that she should put foorth more sailes then we in the night, and was shot a head of us, so that then we put forth our top-sailes, and went our course with England.

At the time when the Christopher left us, we were within 120 leagues of England, and 45 leagues North-west and by West from Cape Finister: and at the same time in our ships we had not above sixe Mariners and sixe Marchants in health, which was but a weake company for such a ship to seeke a forren harbour.

The 16 day, about sixe of the clocke at night, we met with a great storme at the Westsouthwest, & West, and our men being weake, and not able to handle our sailes, we lost the same night our maine saile, foresaile, and spreetsaile, & were forced to lie a hulling, untill the eighteenth day, and then we made ready an olde course of a foresaile, and put it to the yard, and therewith finding our selves far shot into the sleeve, we bare with our owne coast; but that foresaile continued not above two houres, before it was blowen from the yard with a freat, and then we were forced to lie a hull againe, untill the nineteenth day of October in the morning, and then we put an olde bonnet to our foreyard, which, by the good blessing and providence of God, brought us to the Ile of Wight, where we arrived the 20 of October in the afternoone.

The commodities and wares that are most desired in Guinie, betwixt Sierra Liona and the furthest place of the Mine.

MANILS of brasse, and some of leade.  
 Basons of divers sorts, but the most lattin.  
 Pots of course tinne, of a quart and more.  
 Some wedges of yron.  
 Margarites, and certaine other sleight beads.  
 Some blew Corall.  
 Some horse tailes.  
 Linnen cloth principally.  
 Basons of Flanders.  
 Some red cloth of low price, and some kersie.  
 Kettles of Dutch-land with brasen handles.  
 Some great brasse basons graved, such as in Flanders they set upon their cupboords.  
 Some great basons of pewter, and ewers graven.  
 Some lavers, such as be for water.

Great knives of a low price.

Sleight Flanders-caskets.

Chests of Roan of a lowe price, or any other chests.

Great pinnes.

Course French coverings.

Packing sheets good store.

Swords, daggers, frise mantels, and gownes, clokes, hats, red caps, Spanish blankets, axe heads, hammers, short pieces of yron, sleight belles, gloves of a lowe price, leather bags, and what other trifles you will.

Certaine Articles delivered to M. John Lok, by Sir William Gerard Knight, M. William Winter, M. Benjamin Gonson, M. Anthony Hickman, and M. Edward Castelin the 8 of September 1561, touching a voyage to Guinea.

A remembrance for you M. Lok at your comming to the coast of Guinie.

FIRST, when God shal send you thither, to procure, as you passe alongst the coast, to understand what rivers, havens, or harboroughs there be; and to make your selfe a plat thereof, setting those places which you shall thinke materiall in your sayd plat, with their true elevations.

Also you shall learne what commodities doe belong to the places where you shall touch, and what may be good for them.

It is thought good, that having a fort upon the coast of Mina in the king of Habaans country, it would serve to great purpose: wherefore you are especially sent to consider where the fort might be best placed, and upon what ground: wherein are to be noted these things following.

1, That the ground so servè, that it joyne to the sea on the one part, so as shippes and boats may come to lade and unlade.

2. What molde of earth the ground is of.

3. What timber or wood may be had, and how it will be caried.

4. What provision of victuals may be had in the countrey: and what kinde of our victuals will best serve to continue.

5. The place must be naturally strong, or such as may be made strong with a small charge, and afterwards kept with a few men.

6. How water may be provided, if there be none to be had in the ground where the fort shall stand, or neere to it.

7. What helpe is to be had from the people of the countrey, either for the building of it, or for the defence thereof.

To moove the king of Haban a farre off, for the making of a fort, and to note how he will like it; but use your communication so, that although there might fall out good cause for the doing of it, yet he do not understand your meaning.

Search the countrey so farre as you may, both alongst the coast, and into the land.

To learne what became of the marchants that were left at Benin.

The matters which shall be of importance to be noted we nothing doubt that you will omit, wherefore we referre the order of these affaires to your good discretion.

Also we pray you as occasion shall serve that you ayd and helpe our factours, both with your counsell and otherwise; and thus God send you safely to returne.

William Gerrard, William Winter, Benjamin Gonson,  
Anthony Hickman, Edward Castelin.

A letter of M. John Lok to the worshipfull company of Marchants adventurers for Guinie, written 1561, shewing reasons for his not proceeding in a voyage then intended to the foresayd countrey.

WORSHIPFULL sirs; since the arrivall of M. Pet and Buttoll Monjoy (as I understand) for the voyage it is concluded that the Minion shall proceed on her voyage, if within 20 dayes she may be repaired of those hurts she hath received by the last storme: or in the moneth of January also, if the wind wil serve therfore. Wherefore for that your worships shall not be ignorant of my determined purpose in the same, with the reasons that have perswaded me thereunto; I have thought good to advertise you thereof, trusting that your worships will weigh them, as I uprightly and plainly meane them. And not for any feare or discouragement that I have of my selfe by the raging of the stormes of the sea, for that (I thanke the Lord) these have not beene the first that I have abiden, neither trust I they shalbe the last. First the state of the ship, in which, though I thinke not but M. Pet can do

more for her strengthening then I can conceive, yet for all that, it will neither mend her conditions, nor yet make her so stanch that any cabin in her shalbe stanch for men to lie drie in : the which sore, what a weakening it will be to the poore men after their labour, that they neither can have a shift of apparell drie, nor yet a drie place to rest in, I referre to your discretion. For though that at Harwich she was both bound and caulked as much as might be, both within and without, yet for all that she left not, afore this flaw, in other weathers, being stressed, to open those seames, and become in the state she was before; I meane, in wetting her men : notwithstanding her new worke. And my judgement, with that little experience I have had, leadeth me to thinke that the ship whose water works and footings be spent and rotten cannot be but leake for men. Next, the unseasonable time of the yere which is now present. And how onely by meanes of the unseasonable times in the retorne from the voyage home, many thereby have decayed, to the great misery and calamity of the rest, and also to the great slander of the voyage (which I much respect) the last and other voyages have declared. And what it is to make the voyage in unseasonable time, that hath the second voyage also declared. Wherefore weying and foreseeing this (as I may wel terme it) calamity and unevitable danger of men, and that by men she must be brought home againe (except that God will shew an extraordinary miracle) I purpose not nor dare I venture with a safe conscience to tempt God herein. Again, forsomuch as she is alone, and hath so little helpe of boat or pinnesse in her trade, & also for her watering, where a long time of force must be spent, my going, to the accomplishment of your expectations, will be to small effect for this time, because I shall want both vessell and men to accomplish it. And I would not gladly so spend my time and travell, to my great charges and paine, and after, for not falling out accordingly, to lose both pot and water, as the proverbe is. As for the Primrose, if she be there, her trade will be ended or ever we come there, so that she of force, by want of provision, must retorne : yea, though we should carry with us a supply for her, yet is the meeting of her doubtfull, and though we met her, yet will the men not tarry, as no reason is they should : howbeit my opinion of her is that she is put into Ireland. The Flowerdeluce was in Mil-

ford. Thus for that your worships might understand the whole cause why I doe not proceed, I have troubled you at this time with this my long Letter. And, as God is my Judge, not for feare of the Portugals, which there we shall meet (and yet alone without ayde) as here is a shippe which was in Lisbon, whose men say that there are in a readinesse (onely to meet us) foure great ships, of the which one is accounted 700 tunnes, & other pinnesses: yet not for feare of them, nor raging of the seas (whose rage God is above to rule) but onely for the premisses: the sequell whereof must by reason turne to a great misery to the men: the which I for my part (though it might turne me to as much gaine as the whole commeth to) yet would I not be so tormented, as the sight thereof would be a corsive to my heart, and the more, because foreseeing the same, I should be so leud, as yeelding, to have runne into the danger thereof, and therefore I have absolutely determined with my selfe not to goe this voyage. Howbeit if in a seasonable time of the yeere I had but one ship sufficient, though much lesse by the halfe, I would not refuse (as triall being made thereof should appeare) or if I had ability of my selfe to venture so much, it should well be seene. And this I speake to give you to understand that I refuse not this for feare: If you purpose to proceed heerein, send some one whom you please; to whom I will not onely deliver the articles which I have received, but also will give some particular notes which I have noted in the affaires which you have committed unto mee, with the best helpe and counsell I can. Thus the living God keepe your worships all. Bristoll this 11 of December 1561.

Your worships to comand to his power  
John Lok.

The relation of one William Rutter to M. Anthony Hickman his master touching a voyage set out to Guinea in the yeere 1562, by Sir William Gerard, Sir William Chester, M. Thomas Lodge, the sayd Antony Hickman, and Edward Castelin: which voyage is also written in verse by Robert Baker.

Worshipfull sir, my duty remembred, this shalbe to declare unto you the discourse of this our voyage, since our departure out of England from Dartmouth; at which time I gave you to understand of our departure, which

was the 25 of February 1562. Then having a prosperous winde we departed from thence, and sailed on our voyage untill we arrived at Cavo verde the 20 of March, making no abode there, but sailed along the coast to our first appointed port Rio de sestos, at which port we arrived the third of Aprill in the morning, having the sight of a Frenchman, who assoone as he perceived us, set saile and made to the sea: in the meane time we came to an anker in the rode: and after that he had espied our flag, perceiving us to be Englishmen, he bare with the shore, & hailed our ships with his ordinance, at which time we the merchants of both the ships were in the river in traffike, and had understanding of the Negros that he had bene there three dayes before our comming: so we concluded together, that if he sent his pinnesse to traffike, we would not suffer him, until we had taken further order with their captaine & marchants. In the afternoone the pinnesse came into the river, whose men we willed to make no traffike untill we had talked further with their captaine, whom we willed that night to come aboard our admirall; which was done. At which sayd time M. Burton and John Munt went aboard the Minion where the Frenchmen were, & there concluded that they should tary by us eight dayes, and suffer us quietly to traffike, wherewith they were not well pleased. Whereupon the next morning they departed from us, sailing alongst the coast to the Eastward towards Potis, which he did to hinder our traffike that way: wherefore the marchants of the Minion & we concluded (forasmuch as at that present we understood that there were no sailes past alongst) that we should go before, to the end we might not be hindred of our traffike by the Frenchmen; which thing we did: and at our comming thither we found the Frenchman in traffike to the West of Potis, by whom we passed, & arrived at Rio de Potis the 12 of April, where we remained in traffike untill the 15 of the sayd moneth, and then departed from thence along the coast toward Sant Andre, where we appointed by agreement to tary for the Minion: and the 17 at night we came to the river of S. Andre; in which very day the Minion came unto us, telling us that they met at cavo das Palmas a great ship and a carvell of the king of Portugals bound to the Mina, who gave chase unto them, and shot freely at them, and the Minion in her defence returned her the like: but God be praised



the Minion had no hurt for that time. In the end we concluded to hasten towards *cavo de tres puntas* to have put them from the castle, if by any meanes wee might; and when wee were come to the Cape, we lay a hull one night and two dayes, and doubting they had bene past, the Minion went neere the shore, and sent her merchants to a place called *Anta*, where beforetime we had traffike, and the next morning very early being the 21 of the sayd moneth, we againe had sight of the ship and the caravell a good way to sea-boord of us. Then we presently set saile, and bare with the formost of them, hoping to have got betweene the castle and them, but we came short of our purpose, which was no small grieffe unto us all; and when they had gotten the castle to friend, they shot at us freely, and we at them, and the castle at us; but we profited litle. In the afternoone we set saile & came to the town of Don Juan called *Equi*, where the 22 in the morning we went a shore to traffike, but the Negros would not untill they had newes from Don Luis, for at that time Don Juan was dead, and the 23 came Don Luis his sonne and Pacheco minding to traffike with us, at which said day came two galies rowing along the shore from the castle, minding to keepe us from our traffike. The 24 we set saile and chased the galies to the castle againe. The Negros being glad of that required us to goe to *Mowre*, which is some 3 leagues behind, and thither would they come for that they stood in feare of the Portugals, and there we remained for the marchants that came out of the countrey which were come with their gold, but Anthonio don Luis his sonne, and Pacheco were aboard the Minion. And the 25 in the morning came the two galies from the castle againe unto us, the weather being very calme, they shot at us and hit us 3 times, and shortly after the wind came from the shore, at which instant we descried the ship, & the caravell comming towards us, then we weighed and set saile, and bare as neere unto them as we could: but it was night or ever wee met with them, and the night being very darke we lost them. The next day plying to the shore, at night we agreed to go with *Cormantin*, but the next morning being the 28 we were but a litle distant from the great ship and the 2 galies, having no wind at all, and the caravell hard aboard the shore. Then being calme, came the 2 galies rowing to the sterne of

the Minion, and fought with her the most part of the forenoone: and in the fight a mischance hapned in the Minions steward-roome by means of a barrell of poudre that tooke fire, wherewith were hurt the master gunner, the steward, and most part of the gunners; which the galies perceiving, began to be more fierce upon them, and with one shot cut halfe her foremast in twaine, that without present remedie shee was not able to beare saile, and presently upon this the great ship sent her boat to the galies, who suddenly departed from us. And after their departure we went aboard the Minion to counsell what were best to be done, at which time they were sore discomfited. Whereupon we devised what was best to be done: and because wee knew that the Negros neither would nor durst traffike so long as the galies were on the coast; it was therefore agreed that we should prepare our selves to depart to Rio de Sestos, and so we departed that day. The 14 of May in the morning we fell with the land, and when wee came to it, we doubted what place it was, and sent our boates on land to know the trueth, and we found it to be Rio de Barbos, which is to the Eastward of sant Andre, and there remained in getting of water untill the 21, where we lost the day before 5 of our men by meanes of overthrowing our blacke pinnasse. The 22 we departed from thence to Rio de Sesto, where we arrived the 2 of June, and the 4 wee departed from Rio de Sesto, and arrived (God bee thanked) the 6 of August within sight of the Stert in the West part of England, our men being very sicke and weake. We have not at this present above 20 sound men that are able to labour, and we have of our men 21 dead, and many more very sore hurt and sicke. Master Burton hath bene sicke this 6 weekes, and at this present (God strengthen him) is so weake that I feare he will hardly escape. Herein inclosed your worship shall receive a briefe of all the goods sold by us, & also what commodities we have received for the same. Thus I leave to trouble your worship, reserving all things els to our generall meeting, and to the bringer hereof. From aboard the Primerose the 6 of August 1563.

Your obedient servant

William Rutter.

There are brought home this voiage An. 1563. Elephants teeth 166. weighing 1758 pounds. Graines 22 butts full.

A meeting at Sir William Gerards house the 11 of July 1564. for the setting foorth of a voyage to Guinea, with the Minion of the Queens, the John Baptist of London, and the Merline of M. Gonson.

At this meeting were these chiefe adventurers, Sir William Gerard, sir William Chester, sir Thomas Lodge, Anthonie Hickman, and Edward Castelin. Where it was agreed that Francis Ashbie should be sent to Deptford to M. Gonson for his letters to Peter Pet to goe about the rigging of the Minion upon the Queenes majesties charges, and so the said Francis to repaire with the same letters to Gillingham with money to supplie our charge there.

Also that every one of the five partners shall foorth-with call upon their partners to supply towards this new rigging and victualling, 29 li. 10s. 6d. for every 100 li. value.

Also that every one of the five partners shall foorth-with bring in 50 li. towards the furniture of the premisses.

Likewise it is agreed that if M. Gonson give his consent that the Merline shall be brought about from Bristoll to Hampton, that a letter be drawn whereunto his hand shall be, before order be given for the same.

The successe of this Voiage in part appeareth by certaine briefe relations extracted out of the second voyage of Sir John Hawkins to the West Indies, made in the sayd yeere 1564. which I thought good to set downe for want of further instructions, which hitherto I could not by any meanes come by, albeit I have used all possible indeavour for the obtaining of the same: Take them therefore in the meane season as foloweth.

MASTER JOHN HAWKINS, with the Jesus of Lubeck a ship of 700. tunnes, and the Salomon, a ship of 7 score, the Tiger a barke of 50, and the Swallow of 30 tunnes, being all well furnished with men to the number of one hundred threescore and ten, as also with ordinance and victuall requisite for such a voiage, departed out of Plimmouth the 18 day of October in the yeere of our Lord 1564. with a prosperous winde: at which departing, in cutting the foresaile, a marveilous misfortune happened to one of the officers in the ship, who by the pullie of the sheat

was slaine out of hand being a sorowfull beginning to them all. And after their setting out 10 leagues to the Sea, hee met the same day with the Minion a ship of the Queens Majesties, whereof was captaine David Carlet, & also her consort the John Baptist of London being bound to Guinea likewise, who hailed one the other after the custome of the sea, with certaine pieces of ordinance for joy of their meeting: which done, the Minion departed from him to seeke her other consort the Merline of London, which was a sterne out of sight, leaving in M. Hawkins companie the John Baptist her other consort.

Thus sailing forwards on their way with a prosperous wind until the 21 of the same moneth, at that time a great storme arose, the wind being at Northeast about 9 of the clocke at night, and continued so 23 houres together, in which storme M. Hawkins lost the company of the John Baptist aforesaid, and of his pinasse called the Swallow, the other 3 ships being sore beaten with the storme. The 23 day the Swallow, to his no small rejoicing, came to him againe in the night 10 leagues to the Northward of Cape Finister, having put roomer and not being able to double the Cape, in that there rose a contrary wind at Southwest. The 25 the wind continuing contrary, he put into a place in Galicia called Ferol, where he remained 5 daies and appointed all the masters of his ships an order for the keeping of good company.

The 26 day the Minion came in also where he was, for the rejoycing whereof he gave them certaine pieces of ordinance after the curtesie of the Sea for their welcome, but the Minions men had no mirth because of their consort the Merline, whom at their departure from M. Hawkins upon the coast of England, they went to seeke, and having met with her, kept company two dayes together, and at last by misfortune of fire (through the negligence of one of the gunners) the poudre in the gunners roome was set on fire, which with the first blast stroke out her poope, and therewithall lost 3 men, besides many sore burned (which escaped by the Brigandine being at her sterne) and immediatly to the great losse of the owners, and most horrible sight of the beholders, she sunke before their eies. The 30 day of the moneth M. Hawkins with his consorts and company of the Minion having now both the Brigandines at her sterne, weighed anker, and

set saile on their voiage having a prosperous wind thereunto. The 4 of November they had sight of the Iland of Madera, and the 6 day of Teneriffa, which they thought to have bene the Canarie, in that they supposed themselves to have bene to the Eastward of Teneriffa but were not: but the Minion beyng 3 or 4 leagues a head of us kept on her course to Teneriffa, having better sight thereof then the other had, and by that means they parted company.

The aforesaid Sir John Hawkins passing on his voiage by Cavo Verde, and Sierra Leona, and afterward crossing over the maine Ocean comming to the towne of Burboroata upon the coast of Terra firma in the West Indies, had further information of the evill successe of this Guinean voyage, as in the same hereafter is verbatim mentioned.

The 29 of April, we being at anker without the road, a French ship called the green Dragon of Newhaven, whereof was captaine one Bon Temps came in, who saluted us after the maner of the sea, with certaine pieces of ordinance, and we resaluted him with the like againe: with whom having communication, he declared that hee had bene at the Mina in Guinea, and was beaten off by the Portugals gallies, and enforced to come thither to make sale of such wares as he had: and further that the like was hapned unto the Minion: also, that captaine David Carlet, & a marchant, with a dozen mariners were betraied by the Negros at their first arrivall thither, remaining prisoners with the Portugals, besides other misadventures of the losse of their men hapned through the great lacke of fresh water, with great doubts of bringing home the ships: which was most sorrowfull for us to understand.

The voyage of M. George Fenner to Guinie, and the Islands of Cape Verde, in the yeere of 1566. with three ships, to wit, the Admirall called the Castle of Comfort, the May Flower, and the George, and a Pinnasse also:

Written by Walter Wren.

THE 10 day of December, in the yeere abovesayd, we departed from Plimmouth, and the 12 day we were thwart of Ushant.

The 15 day in the morning being Sunday, wee had

sight of Cape Finister, and the same night we lost the company of our Admirall, wherefore we sayled along the coast of Portugall, hoping that our Admirall had bene before us.

The 18 day we met with a French ship of whom wee made inquirie for our Admirall, but he could not tell us newes of him: so we followed our course to the Ilands of the Canaries.

The 25 day in the morning we fell with a small Iland called Porto Santo, & within 3 houres wee had sight of another Iland called Madera which is 6 leagues from Porto Santo.

The said 25 day being the day of the Nativitie, we hoised out our boat, and fet master Edward Fenner captaine of the May Flower aboard us, being in the George, with the master whose name was Robert Cortise and others of the sayd shippe, and feasted them with such cheere as God had sent us.

The 28 day we fel with an Iland called Tenerif, which is 27 leagues from the said Iland, and on the East side thereof we came to an anker in 40 fadome water, within a base shot of the shore, in a litle Baie wherein were 3 or 4 small houses: which Baie and houses were distant from a litle towne called Santa Cruz, a league or thereabout, and as we rode in the said Baie, we might see an Iland called The grand Canarie which was 6 or 7 leagues from us.

The 29 day the May Flower for that she could not fet into ye road where we were at an anker, by reason the wind was off the shore, & because she bare more roomer from the land then we did, in the morning came bearing in with the towne of Santa Cruz, thinking to come to an anker in the road against the towne, and before she came within the reach of any of their ordinance, they shot at her foure pieces which caused her to come roome with us, and came at last to an anker by us. And about one of the clocke in the afternoone, the forenamed captaine of the May Flower wrote a letter a shore, directing it to the head officer of the towne of Santa Cruz, to the intent to understand the pretense of the shooting off the said ordinance.

The letter being written, Robert Courtise master of the May Flower, and Walter Wren were appointed to deliver the same a land at 3 or 4 houses to bee conveid to the



foresayd towne, and so went with six men in the boate, and rowed to the shore as neere as they might, for setting the boat on ground, for the sea went cruelly at the shore.

The people stood in number 30 persons with such armour as they had: the foresayd Wren called to them in Spanish, declaring to them that they had a letter which they would very gladly have conveid unto the towne, shewing that they would traffique with them as marchants, desiring their helpe for the conveiance of the same letter. With that one of the Spaniards willed us to come on land, and we should be welcome, but doubting the worst, the said Walter answered them that they would not come on land, until they had answere of their letter which they had brought.

Whereupon one of the Spaniards unraied himselfe, and leapt into the water, and swam to the boat, whom we received. And he saluted us, and demaunded what our request was: we made him answere, that by misfortune we lost the companie of our Admirall, and being bound to this Iland to traffique for wines and other things necessary for us, do here mind to stay untill he come.

Concerning our letter he made us answere, that he would with all diligence cary it, and deliver it according to the direction, and so the said Walter knit the letter in a bladder, and delivered it unto him, and also gave him foure roials of Spanish money for his paines: and promising that we should have answere of it, he tooke his leave and swamme againe on shore, where the people stood ready to receive him. And after that they had talked with him, and understood our meaning, some of them threw up their hats, & the other put them off holding them in their hands, and made us very curteous signes, alwaies desiring that the boat would come a land, but we resaluting them rowed backe againe aboard.

The 30 day the Governours brother of Santa Cruz came aboard the May Flower with sixe or seven Spaniards with him, who concluded with the Captaine that we might come a shore and traffique with them, but that day we did not, for we had no sufficient pledge of theirs for our assurance. Our Captaine entertained them well, and at their departure gave them foure pieces of ordinance for a farewell, and bestowed upon them two cheeses with other things.

The sayd Governours brother promised our Capitaine that hee should have sufficient pledges the morrow folowing, which was not done, whereupon wee grew suspicious, and went not that day a shore.

The first day of January our capitaine sent Nicholas Day and John Sumpter a shore, who were very well entertained with as many of our company as went after them.

In the said Iland is a marveilous high hill called the Pike, which is a far off more like a cloud in the aire, then any other thing: the hill is round and somewhat small at the top, it hath not bene knowen that ever any man could goe up to the top thereof. And although it stand in 28 degrees which is as hote in January, as it is in England at Midsommer, yet is the top of the said hil Winter and Sommer seldome without snow.

In this Ilánd about two leagues from the said Santa Cruz is a citie called Anagona.

The third day wee departed about the Westernne point of the Iland, about 12 or 14 leagues from Santa Cruz, into a Baie which is right agaynst the house of one Petro de Souses, in which Baie we came to an anker the 5 day, where we heard that our Admirall had bene there at an anker 7 dayes before us, and was gone thence to an Iland called Gomera, whereupon wee set saile presently to seeke him.

The 6 day we came to an anker against the towne of Gomera, where we found our Admirall, which was very joyfull of our comming, and we also of his sight.

In the sayd road we found Edward Cooke in a tall ship, and a shippe of the Coppersmiths of London, which the Portugals had trecherously surprised in the Baie of Santa Cruz, upon the coast of Barbarie, which ship we left there all spoiled.

Our General & marchants bought in the said towne for our provision, 14 butts of wine, which cost 15 duckats a butt, which were offred us at Santa Cruz in Tenerif for 8, 9, and 10 duckats.

The 9 day we departed from this road to another Baie, about 3 leagues off, and there tooke in fresh water: & so the 10 day we set saile towards Cape Blanke, which is on the coast of Guinea.

The 12 day we fell into a Baie to the Eastward of Cape Pargos, which is 35 leagues from Cape Blanke.

But having no knowledge of that coast, we went with Cape Blanke, and at the fall of the land we sounded and had 16 fadome water two leagues from the shore. The land is very lowe and white sand. Upon the fall of the sayd coast beware how you borow in 12 or 10 fadome, for within 2 or 3 casts of the lead you may be on ground.

The 17 day we set saile from Cape Blanke, directing our course South and by East, & South among, and so fell into a Baie to the Eastward of Cape Verde, about 16 leagues, and about sixe leagues from the shore. The sayd land seemed unto us as if it had bene a great number of shippes under saile, being in deed nothing els but the land which was full of Hammoks, some high some lowe, with high trees on them. We bare with the said land till we were within 3 leagues of the shore, and then we sounded, and found 28 fadome water, blacke oase. This day we saw much fish in sundry sculs swimming with their noses with the brim of the water.

Passing along this coast we might see two small round hils, seeming to us about a league one from the other, which is the Cape, and betweene them are great store of trees, and in all our dayes sailing we saw no land so high as the said two hils.

The 19 day we came to an anker at the Cape, in a roade fast by the Westermost side of two hils in 10 fadome of water where you may ride in five or sixe fadome, for the ground is faire, and alwayes you shall have the winde off the shore. And as soone as we were all at an anker, our Generall came aboard us, and with him the master of the Admirall, whose name was William Bats, and with them the captaine of the Viceadmirall, whose name was master Edward Fenner, and Robert Curtise the master, and dined aboard of us being in the George, wherein was Captaine John Heiwood, and John Smith of Hampton master, and there we concluded to goe aland, which was halfe a mile from us: and by the counsell of William Bats both Captaine and marchants and divers of the companie went without armour: for he sayd, that although the people were blacke and naked, yet they were civill: so that hee would needs give the venter without the consent of the rest to go without weapon. Thus they rowed to shore, where, we being in the shippe might see a great companie of Negros naked, walking to and fro by the sea side where the

landing place was, waiting for the comming of our men, who came too soone, and landed to their losse as it fell out afterwards.

There went a shore the Admirals skiffe, and the May Flowers boate, and in them the number of 20 persons or thereabouts, as M. George Fenner the Generall, his brother M. Edward Fenner, Thomas Valentine, John Worme and Francis Leigh marchants, John Haward, William Bats, Nicholas Day, John Tomson and others.

At their comming to the shore there were 100 Negros or upward, with their bowes and arrowes: our Captaines and merchants talked with them, & according to the use of the country, the one demanded pledges of the other, & they were content to deliver 3 of their Negros for 5 of our men. Our 5 mens names were these, John Haward, Wil. Bats, Nich. Day, Joh. Tomson, & John Curtise: these were delivered them, and we received 3 Negros into our Admirals skiffe.

Our men being a shore among the Negros, began to talke with them, declaring what ware and marchandize we had, as woollen cloth, linnen cloth, iron, cheese & other things. The Negros answered againe, they had civet, muske, gold and graines, which pleased our captaines and marchants very well. Then the Negros desired to have a sight of some of our wares, to the which our marchants were content, and forthwith sent aboord one of the boats for part of their marchandise, and in the meane time while the boate went to the ship, our five men were walking on the shore with the Negros, and our Generall and marchants staid in the other boat by the sea side, having the 3 Negros with them.

Our boate then came againe and brought iron and other marchandise, with bread, wine, and cheese which they gave unto them. Then two of the Negros (which were the pledges) made themselves sicke, desiring to goe a shore, promising to send other two for them. Captaine Haiward perceiving that our men had let the Negros come a shore, asked what they meant, and doubting the worst began to drawe toward the boate, and two or three of the Negros folowed him. And when hee came to the boate they began to stay him, and he made signes unto them that hee would fetch them more drinke and bread: notwithstanding, when he was entering into the boate, one of them caught him by the breeches and

would have staied him, but hee sprang from him and leapt into the boate, and as soone as hee was in, one of the Negros a shore beganne to blow a pipe, and presently the other Negro that was in our boate sitting on the boates side, and master Wormes sword by him, suddenly drew the sword out of the scabberd, and cast himselfe into the Sea and swamme a shore, and presently the Negros laied handes on our men that were on shore, and tooke three of them with great violence, and tore all their apparell from their backes and left them nothing to cover them, and many of them shot so thicke at our men in our boates, that they could scarce set hand to any Oare to rowe from the shore, yet (by the helpe of God) they got from them with their boates, although many of them were hurt with their poysoned arrowes: and the poison is uncurable, if the arrow enter within the skin and drawe blood, and except the poison bee presently suckt out, or the place where any man is hurt bee foorthwith cut away, hee dieth within foure dayes, and within three houres after they bee hurt or pricked, wheresoever it be, although but at the litle toe, yet it striketh up to the heart, and taketh away the stomacke, and causeth the partie marveilously to vomite, being able to brooke neither meat nor drinke.

The Negros having used our men with such cruelty, whose names were Nicholas Day, William Bats and John Tomson, led them away to a towne which was within a mile of the water side, or thereabout.

The 20 day we sent to land a boate or skiffe wherein were eight persons, and one of them was the foresayd John Tomson and our interpreter which was a Frenchman, (for there was one of the Negros which spake good French:) and they caried with them two harquebusses, two targets and a mantell.

The cause of sending them was to learne what ransome they demaunded for Bats and Day whom they detained. And when they came to the shore and told the Negros what they desired, they went and fetched them from among the trees, and brought them loose among fortie or fiftie of them. And being come within a stones cast of the sea side, William Bats brake from them, and ran as fast as he could into the sea towards the boat, and he was not so soone in the water but hee fell downe, either being out of breath or his foote failing him in

the sand being soft: so that the Negros came and fell on him and tooke him and haled him, that we thought they had torne him in pieces: for they tore againe all the apparell from his backe, so that some of them caried our men againe to the towne, and the rest shot at us with their poisoned arrowes, and hurt one of our men called Androwes in the smal of the leg, who being come aboard, (for al that our Surgeons could do) we thought he would have died.

Our Generall (notwithstanding all this villanie) sent agayne to them, and offered them any thing that they desired for the raunsome of our men, but they would not deliver them: giving us this answe: That there was in the foresayd roade, three weekes before wee came, an English shippe which had taken three of their people, and untill wee did bring or send them againe, wee should not have our men although wee would give our three shippes with their furniturè.

The 21 day a French shippe of the burden of 80 tunnes (or thereabouts,) came to the place where we were, being bound to traffique at the Cape: we told them of the detaining of our two men by the Negros: and seeing that these Frenchmen were very well welcome to the Negros, we wished them to see whether they could procure them againe of the Negros, and bring them along with them, and our Generall promised the Frenchmen 100 li. to obtaine them. So wee committed the matter to the Frenchmen and departed.

Of our men that were hurt by the Negros arrowes, foure died, and one to save his life had his arme cut off. Androwes that was last of all hurt, lay lame not able to helpe himselfe: onely two recovered of their hurts. So we placed other men in the roomes of those that we lost, and set saile.

The 26 day betweene Cape Verde and Bona vista we sawe many flying fishes of the bignesse of herrings, whereof two flew into our boat, which we towed at our sterne.

The 28 day we fell with an Iland called Bona vista, which is from Cape Verde 86 leagues. The Northside of the sayde Iland is full of white sandie hills and dales, and somewhat high land.

The sayd day wee came to an anker within the Westermost point, about a league within the point, and found



in our sounding faire sand in ten fadome water, but you may goe neere till you be in five or six fadome, for the ground is faire.

As soone as we were at an anker, our Generall sent his pinnasse a land, and found five or sixe small houses, but the people were fled into the mountains: and the next day he sent a shore againe, and met with two Portugals, who willingly went aboard with his men, and at their comming he welcommed them, although they were but poore & simple, and gave each of them a paire of shoes, and so set them a shore againe.

The 30 day we weighed & sailed into a Bay within a smal Iland about a league from us, and tooke plentie of divers sortes of fishe. The forsayd Iland lieth in sixteene degrees. And if you meane to anker in the said Bay, you may borow in foure or five fadome of the Southermost point of the sayd Iland, which you may see when you ride in the road. But beware of the middle of the Baie, for there lieth a ledge of rocks, which at a lowe water breaketh, yet there is three fadome water over them.

The last day of Januarie our Generall with certaine of his men went a shore in the Baie to the houses, where he found 12 Portugals. In all the Iland there were not above 30 persons, which were banished men for a time, some for more yeeres, some for lesse, and amongst them there was one simple man which was their captaine.

They live upon goats flesh, cocks, hennes, and fresh water: other victuals they have none, saving fish, which they esteeme not, neither have they any boats to take them.

They reported that this Iland was given by the king of Portugall to one of his gentlemen, who hath let it foorth to rent for one hundreth duckats a yeere, which rent is reared onely in goats skinnes. For by their speaches there hath bene sent foorth of the sayd Iland into Portugall 40000 skins in one yeere.

We were to these men marveilously welcome, and to their powers very wel entertained, and they gave us the flesh of as many hee-goates as wee would have, and tooke much paines for us in taking them, and bringing them from the mountains upon their asses.

They have there great store of the oyle of Tortoises, which Tortoise is a fish which swimmeth in the Sea, with

a shell on his backe as broad as a target. It raineth not in this Iland but in three moneths of the yeere, from the midst of July to the midst of October, and it is here alwayes very hote. Kine have bene brought hither, but by reason of the heate and drought they have died.

The 3 of February wee departed from this Iland, and the same day fell with another Iland called the Iland of Maiyo, which is 14 leagues from the other Iland: there is in the midst of the way between these two Ilands a danger which is alwayes to be seene.

We ankred in the Northwest side of the sayd Ile in a faire Baie of eight fadomes water and faire sand, but here we staid not, but the fourth day weighed and sailed to another Iland called S. Jago, which lieth off the said Iland of Maiyo East and by South, and about five leagues one from the other. Being come within the Westernmost point, we saw a faire road, and a small towne by the water side, and also a fort or platforme by it: there we purposed to come to anker, and our marchants to make some sale. But before we came within their shot, they let flie at us two pieces, whereupon we went roomer and sailed along the shore two or three leagues from the road, where we found a small Baie and two or three small houses, where we came to an anker in 14 fadome faire ground.

Within an houre after we had ankered we might see divers horsemen and footmen on the land right against us riding and running to and fro.

The next day being the fift of Februarie, a great companie of their horsemen and footemen appeared on the shoare side, unto whom our Generall sent to understande whether they would quietly trafike with them: And they sent him worde againe, desiring that they might speake with him, promising that if he came to trafike as a marchant he should be welcome, and also that he should have any thing that he or the marchant would with reason demaund.

When this answer was brought unto our Generall he was very glad thereof and the whole companie, and presently (with as much speede as he could) he caused his boates to be made readie: but doubting the villanie of the Portugales, he armed his boates putting a double base in the head of his pinnesse, and two single bases in the head of the Skiffe, and so sent to the May-floure and

the George, and willed them in like sort to man their two boates.

These boates being thus manned and well appointed, our Generall entered into his Skiffe, and with the rest rowed to the shoare where were threescore horsemen or more, and two hundreth footemen readie to receive them. Our Generall marveiled that they came in so great a number and all armed, and therefore with a flagge of truce sent to them to knowe their pleasure: and they answered him with many faire promises and othes, that their pretence was all true, and that they meant like Gentlemen and Marchantes to trafike with him, declaring also that their Captaine was comming to speake with him, and therefore desired our Generall to come and speake with him himselfe.

With this answere the boate returned, and then our Generall caused his pinnesse to rowe to them, and as he came neere the shoare they came in a great companie with much obeysance, opening their hands and armes abroade, bowing themselves with their bonnets off, with as much humble salutations outwardly as they might: earnestly desiring our Generall and Marchants to come on lande to them, whereunto he would not agree without sufficient gages of Gentlemen and Marchants. At length they promised to sende two gages to our Generals contentment, promising fresh water, victuall, money, or Negroes for ware, if it were such as they liked: and therefore desired our Generall and Marchants to sende them a shoare in writing the quantitie of their wares, and the names of them: all which our Generall departed to performe, looking for their answere the morrowe following. And being gone a litle from the shoare, he caused his bases, curriers, and harquebusses to be shot off, and our ships in like case shot off five or sixe pieces of great ordinance, and so came aboard to prepare the note. The Portugales most of them departed, saving those that were left to watch and to receive the note, which about foure or five a clocke in the afternoone was sent, and it was received. But all the purposes of the Portugals were villainously to betray us (as shal appeare hereafter) although we meant in truth and honestie, friendly to trafike with them.

There was to the Westwards of us and about two leagues from us, a towne behinde a point fast by the

sea side, where they had certaine Caravels, or shippes and also two Brigandines, whereof they (with all the speede that they might) made readie foure Caravels, and both the brigandines which were like two Gallies, and furnished them both with men and ordinance as much as they could carrie, and as soone as it was night, they came rowing and falling towardses us: so that the land being high and weather somewhat cloudie or mystie, and they comming all the way close under the shoare we could not see them till they were right against one of our ships called the May-floure.

By this time it was about one or two of the clocke in the morning, and the May-floure roade neerer them then the other two by a base shotte, so that they made a sure account either to have taken her or burnt her. In the meane time our men that had the watch (litle thinking of such villanous treacheries after so many faire wordes) were singing and playing one with the other, and made such a noyse, that (being but a small gale of winde, and riding neere the lande) they might heare us from the shoare: so that we supposed that they made account that we had espyed them, which indeede we had not, neither had any one piece of ordinance primed, or any other thing in a readinesse.

They came so neere us that they were within gunshot of us, & then one of our men chanced to see a light, & then looking out spied the 4 ships, and suddenly cried out, Gallies, gallies, at which cry we were all amazed, and foorthwith they shot at us all the great ordinance that they had, and their harquebusses, and curriers, and so lighted certaine tronkes or pieces of wilde fire, and all of them with one voice (as well they on the shoare as they in the shippes) gave a great shoute, and so continued hallowing with great noyses, still approching neerer and neerer unto the May-floure. We (with all the speede that we might) made readie one piece of ordinance and shotte at them, which caused them somewhat to stay, so they charged their ordinance and shot at us freshly againe, and while they shotte this second time at us, we had made readie three pieces which we shot at them, but they approched still so neere, that at last we might have shot a sheafe arrowe to them. Whereupon we having a gale of winde off the shoare hoysed our foresayle, and cut our cable at the hawse, and went towarde our Admirall, and

they continued following and shooting at us, and sometime at our Admirall, but our Admirall shotte one such piece at them, that it made them to retire, and at length to warpe away like traiterous villaines, and although they thus suddenly shot all their shot at us, yet they hurt neither man nor boy of ours, but what we did to them we know not.

But seeing the villanie of these men we thought it best to stay there no longer, but immediatly set sayle towards an Iland called Fuego, 12 leagues from the said Island of S. Jago. At which Island of Fuego we came to an anker the 11 day of this moneth, against a white chappell in the West end of the sayd Island, within halfe a league of a litle towne, and within a league or thereabout of the uttermost point of the said Island.

In this Island is a marveilous high hill which doth burne continually, and the inhabitants reported that about three yeeres past the whole Island was like to be burned with the abundance of fire that came out of it.

About a league from the said chappel to the Westward is a goodly spring of fresh water, where we had as much as we would. Wheate they have none growing here, but a certaine seede that they call Mill, and certaine peason like Guinie peason, which Mill maketh good breade, but they have here good store of rother beasts and goates. Their marchandize is cotton, which groweth there.

The inhabitants are Portugals which have commandement from the king to trafike neither with Englishmen nor Frenchmen for victuall or any other thing, except they be forced so to doe.

There lieth off this Island another called Ilha Brava, which is not passing two leagues over, it hath good store of goates and many trees, but there are not passing three or foure persons dwelling in it.

The 25 day of February we departed towardes the Islands of Azores: and on the 23 day of March we had sight of one of them called Flores, and then wee might see another Island to the Northward of it called Cuervo, lying two leagues or thereabouts off the other.

The 27 we came to an anker in Cuervo over against a village of about twelve simple houses; but in the night by a gale of winde, which caused us to drawe our anker after us, we hoysed sayle and went to the aforesayd Island of Flores, where we sawe strange streames of water

running downe from the high cliffes by reason of the great abundance of raine that had suddenly fallen.

The 29 day we came againe to Cuervo and cast anker, but a storme arose and continued seven or eight houres together, so that we let slip a cable and anker, and after the storme was alayed we came againe thinking to have recovered the same, but the Portugals had either taken it, or spoiled it: the cable was new and never wet before, and both the cable and anker were better worth then 40 li. So that we accompt our selves much beholding to the honest Portugales.

The 18 day of April we tooke in water at the Island of Flores, and having ankered, our cable was fretted in sunder with a rocke and so burst, where wee lost that cable and anker also, and so departed to our coast.

Then wee set sayle to an Islande named Faial, about the which lie three other Islands, the one called Pico, the other Saint George, and the other Graciosa, which we had sight of on the eight and twentieth day.

The 29 we came to an anker in the Southwest side of Faial in a faire bay, and 22 fadom water against a litle towne where we had both fresh water and fresh victuall. In this Island by the report of the inhabitants, there groweth certaine greene woad, which by their speeches is farre better then the woad of S. Michael or of Tercera.

The 8 day of May we came to Tercera where we met with a Portugall ship, and being desititute of a cable and anker, our Generall caused us to keepe her companie, to see if she could conveniently spare us any. The next morning we might see bearing with us a great shippe and two Caravels, which we judged to be of the king of Portugals Armada, and so they were, whereupon we prepared our selves for our defence. The said ship was one of the kings Galliasses, about the burden of foure hundred tunnes, with about three hundred men in her, the shippe being well appointed with brasse pieces both great and small, and some of them so bigge that their shot was as great as a mans head, the other two Caravels were also very warlike and well appointed both with men and munition.

As soone as they were within shotte of us, they waved us amaine with their swords, we keeping our course, the greatest shippe shot at us freely and the caravell also, and we prepared our selves, and made all things cleare



for our safegard as neere as we could. Then the great shippe shot at us all her broad side, and her foure greatest pieces that lay in her sterne, and therewith hurt some of our men, and we did the best we could with our shot to requite it. At last two other Caravels came off the shoare, and two other pinnesses full of men, and delivered them aboard the great shippe, and so went backe againe with two men in a piece of them. The ship and the Caravell gave us the first day three fights, and when the night was come they left off shooting, yet notwithstanding kept hard by us all the night. In the meane time we had as much as wee could doe all the night to mende our ropes, and to strengthen our bulwarkes, putting our trust in God, and resolving our selves rather to die in our defence then to bee taken by such wretches.

The next day being the 10 of May in the morning, there were come to aide the said Portugals foure great Armadas or Caravels more which made seven, of which 4 three of them were at the least roo tunnes a piece, the other not so bigge, but all well appointed and full of men. All these together came bearing with us being in our Admirall, and one of the great Caravels came to lay us aboorde (as we judged) for they had prepared their false nettings, and all things for that purpose, so that the Gallias came up in our larboord side, and the Caravell in our starboord side.

Our Captaine and Master perceiving their pretence, caused our gunners to make all our ordinance readie with crossebarres, chaineshotte and haileshot: so the ship and Caravell came up, and as soone as they were right in our sides, they shotte at us as much ordinance as they could, thinking to have layde us presently aboard: whereupon we gave them such a heate with both our sides, that they were both glad to fall asterne of us, & so paused the space of two or three houres being a very small gale of winde.

Then came up the other five and shot all at us, and so fell all asterne of us, & then went to counsell together.

Then our small barke named the George came to us, and wee conferred together a great space. And as the Portugall shippes and Caravels were comming to us againe, our barke minding to fall asterne of us and so to come up againe, fell quickly upon the lee, and by reason of the litle winde, it was so long before she could

fill her sailes againe, that both the shippe and Caravels were come up to us, and she falling in among them made reasonable shift with them, but they got a head of her, so that she could not fetch us: then 5 of the Caravels followed her, but we saw she defended her selfe against them all.

Then came the great shippe and the Caravell to us, and fought with us all that day with their ordinance.

The May-floure our other consort being very good by the winde, tooke the benefite thereof and halde all that day close by the winde, but could not come neere us. So when night againe was come, they gave over their fight and followed us all the night.

In these many fights it could not otherwise be but needes some of our men must be slaine, (as they were indeede) and divers hurt, and our tackle much spoyled: yet for all this we did our best indeavour to repaire all things, and to stand to it to the death with our assured trust in the mercie and helpe of God.

This night the May-floure came up to us, and our Captaine tolde them his harmes and spoyles, and wished them if they could spare halfe a dozen fresh men to hoyse out their boate and sende them to him, but they could not spare any, and so bare away againe. Which when our enemies sawe in the next morning that we were one from another, they came up to us again and gave us a great fight with much hallowing and hooping, making accompt either to boorde us or els to sinke us: but although our companie was but small, yet least they should see us any whit dismayed, when they hallowed we hallowed also as fast as they, and waved to them to come and boorde us if they durst, but that they would not, seeing us still so couragious: and having given us that day foure fights, at night they forsooke us with shame, as they came to us at the first with pride.

They had made in our ship some leakes with their shot which we againe stopped with al speed, and that being done, we tooke some rest after our long labour and trouble.

The next day in the morning the May-floure came to us, and brought us sixe men in her boate which did us much pleasure, and we sent to them some of our hurt men.

Then we directed our course for our owne countrey, and

by the second day of June we were neere to our owne coast and sounded being thwart the Lizard.

The third day we had sight of a shippe which was a Portugall, who bare with us, and at his comming to us (the weather being calme) our Captaine caused him to hoysse foorth his boate to come aboard to speake with him, and at their comming our Captaine and Marchants demanded of them what ware they had, and whither they were bound, and they made answere that their lading was sugar and cotton. Then our Captaine and Marchants shewed them five Negroes that we had, and asked them whether they would buy them, which they were very desirous to doe, and agreed to give for them 40 chests of sugar, which chests were small having not above 26 loaves in a piece: so they with their boate did fetch five of the chestes and delivered them and went for more, and when they had laden their boate and were come againe, we might see bearing with us a great ship and a small, which our Captaine supposed to be men of warre or Rovers, and then willed the Portugales to carie their sugar to their ship againe, purposing to make our selves readie for our defence. But the Portugales earnestly intreated our Captaine not so to forsake them, and promised him (if he would safeguard them) to give him above the bargaine ten chests of sugar: whereupon our Captaine was content, and the Portugall not being good of sayle, we spared our topsayles for her: so at last the foresaid ship bare with us, and (seeing that we did not feare them) gave us over. And the next morning came two others bearing with us, and seeing us not about to flie a jot from them forsooke us also.

The 5 day of June we had sight of the Stert, and about noone we were thwart of the bay of Lime, and so sounded and had 35 fadom water.

The sixt day we came in at the Needles and so came to an anker under the Isle of Wight at a place called Meadhole, and from thence sayled to Southhampton where we made an ende of this voyage.

The Ambassage of M. Edmund Hogan, one of the sworne Esquires of her Majesties person, from her Highnesse to Mully Abdelmelech Emperour of Marocco, and king of Fes and Sus : in the yeere 1577, written by himselfe.

I EDMUND HOGAN being appointed Ambassadour from the Queenes Majestie to the above named Emperour and King Mully Abdelmelech, departed with my company and servants from London the two and twentie day of Aprill 1577, being imbarked in the good ship called the Gallion of London, and arrived in Azafi a port of Barbarie the one and twentie day of May next following. Immediatly I sent Leonell Edgerton a shoare with my letters directed to John Williams and John Bampton, who dispatched a Trottero to Marocco to knowe the kings pleasure for my repaire to the Court, which letters came to their hands on the Thursday night.

They with all speede gave the king understanding of it, who being glad thereof speeded the next day certaine Captaines with souldiers and tents, with other provision to Azafi : so that upon Whitsunday at night the said Captaines with John Bampton, Robert Washborne, and Robert Lion, and the kings officers came late to Azafi.

In the meane time I remained a boord, and caused some of the goods to be discharged for lightning of the shippe, and I wrote in my letter that I would not lande, till I knewe the Kings pleasure.

The 22 day being Saturday, the Make-speede arrived in the roade about two of the clocke in the afternoone.

The 27 day, being Whitsunday, came aboard the Gallion John Bampton, and others, giving me to understande how much the King rejoyced of my safe arrivall, comming from the Queenes Majestie, and how that for my safe conduct to the Court he had sent foure Captaines and an hundred souldiers well appointed, with a horse furnished which he used himselfe to ride on with all other furniture accordingly : they wished mee also to come on lande in the best order I could, as well for my selfe as my men, which I did, having to the number of tenne men, whereof three were trumpetters.

The ships being foure appointed themselves in the best order they could for the best shew, and shot off all their ordinance to the value of twentie Markes in powder.

At my comming a shoare, I found all the souldiers well

appointed on horsebacke, the Captaines and the Governour of the towne standing as neere the water side as they could, with a Jennet of the kings, and received mee from the boate declaring how glad his Majestie was of my safe arrivall, comming from the Queenes Majestie my Mistresse, and that hee had sent them to attend upon me, it being his pleasure that I should tarie there on shoare five or sixe dayes for my refreshing.

So being mounted upon the Jennet, they conducted mee through the Towne into a faire fielde upon the Sea-side where was a tent provided for mee, and all the ground spread with Turkie carpets, and the Castle discharged a peale of ordinance, and all things necessarie were brought into my tent, where I both tooke my table and lodging, and had other convenient tents for my servants.

The souldiers environed the tents, and watched about us day and night as long as I lay there, although I sought my speedier dispatch.

On the Wednesday towards night, I tooke my horse and traveiled ten miles to the first place of water that we could finde, and there pitched our tents till the next morning, and so traveiled till ten of the clocke, and then pitched our tents till foure, and so traveiled as long as day light would suffer about 26 miles that day.

The next day being Friday I traveiled in like order but eight and twentie miles at the most, and by a River being about sixe miles within sight of the Citie of Marocco we pitched our tents.

Immediatly after came all our English marchants, and the French on horsebacke to meete me, and before night there came an Alcayde from the king with fiftie men, & divers mules laden with victuall and banket, for my supper, declaring unto me how glad the king shewed himselfe to heare of the Queenes Majestie, and that his pleasure was I should be received into his countrey as never any Christian the like: and desired to knowe what time the next day I would come into his citie, because he would that all the Christians as also his nobilitie should meete me, and willed John Bampton to be with him early in the morning, which he did.

About seven of the clocke being accompanied with the French and English marchants, and a great number of souldiers, I passed towards the citie, and by that time I had traveiled 2 miles, there met me all the Christians of

the Spaniards and Portugals to receive me, which I knowe was more by the kings commandement then of any good wils of themselves: for some of them although they speake me faire hung downe their heads like dogs, and especially the Portugales, and I countenanced them accordingly.

So I passed on till I came within two English miles of the Citie, and then John Bampton returned, shewing me that the king was so glad of my comming, that hee could not devise to doe too much, to shewe the good will that hee did owe to the Queenes Majestie, and her Realme.

His counsellors met me without the gates, and at the entrie of the gates, his footmen & guard were placed on both sides of my horse, and so brought me to the kings palace.

The king sate in his chaire with his Counsell about him, as well the Moores as the Elchies, and according to his order given unto me before, I there declared my message in Spanish, and made deliverie of the Queenes Majesties letters, and all that I spake at that present in Spanish, hee caused one of his Elchies to declare the same to the Moores present, in the Larbe tongue.

Which done, he answered me againe in Spanish, yeelding to the Queenes Majestie great thanks, and offering himselfe and his countrey to bee at her Graces commaundement, and then commaunded certaine of his Counsellors to conduct me to my lodging, not being farre from the Court.

The house was faire after the fashion of that countrey, being daily well furnished with al kind of victuall at the kings charge.

The same night he sent for mee to the Court, and I had conference with him about the space of two houres, where I throughly declared the charge committed unto mee from her Majestie, finding him conformable, willing to pleasure and not to urge her Majestie with any demaundes, more then conveniently shee might willingly consent unto, hee knowing that out of his countrey the Realme of England might be better served with lackes, then hee in comparison from us.

Further he gave me to understand, that the king of Spaine had sent unto him for a licence, than an Ambasadour of his might come into his countrey, and had made



great meanes that if the Queenes majesty of England sent any unto him, that he would not give him any credit or intertainment, albeit (said he) I know what the king of Spaine is, and what the Queene of England and her Realme is: for I neither like of him nor of his religion, being so governed by the Inquisition that he can doe nothing of himselfe.

Therefore when he commeth upon the licence which I have granted, he shall well see how litle account I will make of him and Spaine, and how greatly I will extoll you for the Queenes majestie of England.

He shall not come to my presence as you have done, and shall dayly: for I minde to accept of you as my companion and one of my house, whereas he shall attend twentie dayes after he hath done his message.

After the end of this speech I delivered Sir Thomas Greshams letters, when as he tooke me by the hand, and led me downe a long court to a palace where there ranne a faire fountaine of water, and there sitting himselfe in a chaire, he commanded me to sit downe in another, and there called for such simple Musicians as he had.

Then I presented him with a great base Lute, which he most thankfully accepted, and then he was desirous to heare of the Musicians, and I tolde him that there was great care had to provide them, and that I did not doubt but upon my returne they should come with the first ship. He is willing to give them good intertainment with provision of victuall, and to let them live according to their law and conscience wherein he urgeth none to the contrary.

I finde him to be one that liveth greatly in the feare of God, being well exercised in the Scriptures, as well in the olde Testament as also in the New, and he beareth a greater affection to our Nation then to others because of our religion, which forbiddeth worship of Idols, and the Moores called him the Christian king.

The same night being the first of June, I continued with him till twelve of the clocke, and he seemed to have so good liking of me, that he tooke from his girdle a short dagger being set with 200 stones, rubies and turkies, and did bestow it upon me, and so I being conducted returned to my lodging for that time.

The next day because he knew it to be Sunday & our Sabbath day he did let me rest. But on the munday in

the afternoone he sent for me, and I had conference with him againe, and musicke.

Likewise on the tuesday by three of the clocke he sent for me into his garden, finding him layd upon a silke bed complayning of a sore leg: yet after long conference he walked into another Orchard, where as having a faire banketting-house and a great water, and a new gallie in it, he went aboard the gallie and tooke me with him, and passed the space of two or three houres, shewing the great experience he had in Gallies, wherein (as he said) he had exercised himselfe eightene yeres in his youth.

After supper he shewed me his horses and other commodities that he had about his house, and since that night I have not seene him, for that he hath kept in with his sore legge, but he hath sent to me daily.

The 13 of June at sixe of the clocke at night I had againe audience of the king, and I continued with him till midnight, having debated as well for the Queenes commission as for the well dealing with her marchants for their traffike here in these parts, saying, he would do much more for the Queenes majesty and the Realme, offering that all English ships with her subjects may with good securitie enter into his ports and dominions as well in trade of marchandize, as for victuall & water, as also in time of warre with any her enemies to bring in prises and to make sales as occasion should serve, or else to depart againe with them at their pleasure.

Likewise for all English ships that shall passe along his coast of Barbarie, & thorow the straites into the Levant seas, that he would graunt safe conduct that the said ships and marchants with their goods might passe into the Levant seas, and so to the Turks dominions, and the king of Argiers, as his owne, and that he would write to the Turke and to the king of Argier his letters for the well using of our ships and goods.

Also that hereafter no Englishmen that by any meanes may be taken captives, shall be solde within any of his dominions: whereupon I declared that the Queenes majesty accepting of these his offers was pleased to confirme the intercourse & trade of our marchants within this his countrey, as also to pleasure him with such commodities as he should have need of, to furnish the necessities and wants of his countrey in trade of marchandize, so as he required nothing contrarie to her

honour and law, and the breach of league with the Christian princes her neighbours.

The same night I presented the king with the case of combes, and desired his majestie to have special regard that the ships might be laden backe againe, for that I found litle store of salt-peter in readinesse in John Bampton's hands. He answered me that I should have all the assistance therein that he could, but that in Sus he thought to have some store in his house there, as also that the Mountayners had made much in a readinesse: I requested that he would send downe, which he promised to doe.

The eighteene day I was with him againe and so continued there till night, and he shewed me his house with pastime in ducking with water-Spaniels, and baiting buls with his English dogges.

At this time I mooved him againe for the sending downe to Sus, which he granted to doe, and the 24. day there departed Alcayde Mammie, with Lionell Edgerton, and Rowland Guy to Sus, and caried with them for our accompts and his company the kings letters to his brother Muly Hammet, and Alcayde Shauan, and the Viceroy.

The 23. day the king sent me out of Marocco to his garden called Shersbonare, with his gard, and Alcayde Mamoute, and the 24. at night I came to the court to see a Morris dance, and a play of his Elchies. He promised me audience the next day being Tuesday, but he put it off till Thursday: and the Thursday at night I was sent for to the king after supper, and then he sent Alcayde Rodwan, and Alcayde Gowry to conferre with me, but after a little talke I desired to be brought to the King for my dispatch. And being brought to him, I preferred two bils of John Bampton's which he had made for provision of Salt-peter: also two bils for the quiet traffique of our English Marchants, and bils for sugars to be made for the Jewes, as well for the debts past, as hereafter, and for good order in the Ingenios. Also I mooved him againe for the Salt-peter, and other dispatches, which he referred to be agreed upon by the two Alcaydes. But the Friday being the 20. the Alcaydes could not intend it, and upon Saturday Alcayde Rodwan fell sicke, so on Sunday we made meanes to the King, and that afternoone I was sent for to conferre upon the bargaine with the Alcaydes and others, but did not agree.

Upon Tuesday I wrote a letter to the King for my dispatch, and the same afternoone I was called againe to the Court, and referred all things to the King, accepting his offer of Salt-peter.

That night againe the King had me into his Gallie, and the Spaniels did hunt the ducke.

The Thursday I was appointed to way the 300. kintals grosse of Salt-peter, and that afternoone the Tabybe came unto mee to my lodging, shewing mee that the king was offended with John Bampton for divers causes.

The Sunday night late being the 7. of July, I got the King to forgive all to John Bampton, and the King promised me to speake againe with me upon Munday.

Upon Tuesday I wrote to him againe for my dispatch, and then hee sent Fray Lewes to mee, and said that he had order to write.

Upon Wednesday I wrote againe, and he sent me word that upon Thursday I should come and be dispatched, so that I should depart upon Friday without faile, being the twelfth of July.

So the friday after according to the kings order & appointment I went to the court, & whereas motion and petition was made for the confirmation of the demaunds which I had preferred, they were all granted, and likewise the privileges which were on the behalfe of our English marchants requested, were with great favour and readinesse yeelded unto. And whereas the Jewes there resident were to our men in certaine round summes indebted, the Emperors pleasure and commandement was, that they should without further excuse or delay, pay and discharge the same. And thus at length I was dismissed with great honour and speciall countenance, such as hath not ordinarily bene shewed to other Ambassadors of the Christians.

And touching the private affaires intreated upon betwixt her Majestie and the Emperour, I had letters from him to satisfie her highnesse therein. So to conclude, having received the like honourable conduct from his Court, as I had for my part at my first landing, I embarked my selfe with my foresaid company, and arriving not long after in England, I repaired to her Majesties court, & ended my Ambassage to her highnesse good liking, with relation of my service performed.

The voyage of Thomas Stukeley, wrongfully called Marques of Ireland, into Barbary 1578. Written by Johannes Thomas Freigius in *Historia de cæde Sebastiani Regis Lusitaniæ*.

THERE came also to Don Sebastian the King of Portugal 600. Italians, whom the Pope sent under the conduct of the Marques of Ireland: who being arrived at Lisbon with three tall ships, proffered his service to the king, and promised to attend upon him in the warres, &c.

He divided the whole Armie into 4. squadrons: upon the right wing stood the first squadron, consisting of men lightly armed or skirmishers and of the souldiers of Tangier, Generall of whom was Don Alvaro Perez de Tavera: the left or midle squadron consisted of Germanes and Italians, under the command of the Marques of Ireland, &c. cap. 7.

Of Noblemen were slaine in this battell (besides Don Sebastian the king) the duke de Averro, the two bishops of Coimbra & of Porto, the Marques of Ireland sent by the Pope as his Commissary generall, Christopher de Tavera, and many others, cap. 13.

It is further also to be remembred, that divers other English gentlemen were in this battell, whereof the most part were slaine; and among others M. Christopher Lyster was taken captive, and was there long detained in miserable servitude. Which gentleman although at length he happily escaped the cruel hands of the Moores; yet returning home into England, and for his manifold good parts being in the yeere 1586. employed by the honourable the Earle of Cumberland, in a voyage intended by the Streights of Magellan for the South sea, as Viceadmirall, (wherein he shewed singular resolution and courage) and appointed afterward in divers places of speciall command and credite, was last of all miserably drowned in a great and rich Spanish prize upon the coast of Cornwall.

Certaine reports of the province of China learned through the Portugals there imprisoned, and chiefly by the relation of Galeotto Perera, a Gentleman of good credit, that lay prisoner in that Countrey many yeeres. Done out of Italian into English by Richard Willes.

THIS land of China is parted into 13. Shires, the which sometimes were ech one a kingdome by it selfe, but these

many yeeres they have bene all subject unto one King. Fuquien is made by the Portugals the first Shire, because there their troubles began, & they had occasion thereby to know the rest. In this shire be 8. cities, but one principally more famous then others called Fuquieo, the other seven are reasonably great, the best knowen whereof unto the Portugals is Cinceo, in respect of a certaine haven joyning thereunto, whither in time past they were wont for marchandise to resort.

Cantan is the second shire, not so great in quantitie, as well accompted of, both by the king thereof, and also by the Portugals, for that it lieth neerer unto Malacca then any other part of China, and was first discried by the Portugals before any other shire in that province: this shire hath in it seven Cities.

Chequeam is the third shire, the chiefeest Citie therein is Donchion, therein also standeth Liampo, with other 13. or 14. boroughes: countrey townes therin are too too many to be spoken of.

The fourth shire is called Xutiamfu, the principall Citie thereof is great Pachin, where the King is alwayes resident. In it are fifteene other very great Cities: of other townes therein, and boroughes well walled and trenched about, I wil say nothing.

The fift shire hath name Chelim: the great Citie Nanquin chiefe of other fifteene cities was herein of ancient time the royall seat of the Chinish kings. From this shire, & from the aforesaid Chequeam forward bare rule the other kings, until the whole region became one kingdome.

The 6. shire beareth the name Quianci, as also the principal City thereof, wherein the fine clay to make vessels is wrought. The Portugals being ignorant of this Countrey, and finding great abundance of that fine clay to be solde at Liampo, and that very good cheape, thought at the first that it had bene made there, howbeit in fine they perceived that the standing of Quinzi more neere unto Liampo then to Cinceo or Cantan was the cause of so much fine clay at Liampo: within the compasse of Quinci shire be other 12. cities.

The 7. shire is Quicin, the 8. Quansi, the 9. Confu, the 10. Urnan, the 11. Sichiva. In the first hereof there be 16. Cities, in the next 15: how many Townes the other 3. have, wee are ignorant as yet, as also of the proper



names of the 12. and 13. shires, and the townes therein.

This finally may be generally said hereof, that the greater shires in China province may bee compared with mightie kingdomes.

In eche one of these shires bee set Ponchiassini and Anchiassini, before whom are handled the matters of other Cities. There is also placed in ech one a Tutan, as you would say, a governour, and a Chian, that is a visiter, as it were: whose office is to goe in circuit, and to see justice exactly done. By these meanes so uprightly things are ordered there, that it may be worthily accompted one of the best governed provinces in all the world.

The king maketh alwayes his abode in the great city Pachin, as much to say in our language, as by the name thereof I am advertised, the towne of the kingdome. This kingdome is so large, that under five monethes you are not able to travaile from the Townes by the Sea side to the Court, and backe againe, no not under three monethes in poste at your urgent businesse. The post-horses in this Countrey are litle of body, but swift of foote. Many doe traueile the greater part of this journey by water in certaine light barkes, for the multitude of Rivers commodious for passage from one Citie to another.

The King, notwithstanding the hugenessse of his kingdome, hath such a care thereof, that every Moone (for by the Moones they reckon their monethes) he is advertised fully of whatsoever thing happeneth therein, by these meanes following.

The whole province being divided into shires, and ech shire having in it one chiefe and principall Citie, whereunto the matters of all the other Cities, Townes and boroughes, are brought, there are drawn in every chiefe Citie aforesaid intelligences of such things as doe monethly fall out, and be sent in writing to the Court. If happely in one moneth every Post be not able to goe so long a way, yet doeth there notwithstanding once every moneth arrive one Poste out of the shire. Who so commeth before the new moone stayeth for the delivery of his letters until the moone be changed. Then likewise are dispatched other Posts backe into all the 13. shires againe.

Before that we doe come to Cinceo wee have to passe through many places, and some of great importance. For

this Countrey is so well inhabited neere the Sea side, that you cannot goe one mile but you shal see some Towne, borough or hostry, the which are so abundantly provided of all things, that in the Cities and townes they live civilly. Neverthelesse such as dwel abroad are very poore, for the multitude of them every where is so great, that out of a tree you shall see many times swarme a number of children, where a man would not have thought to have found any one at all.

From these places in number infinite, you shall come unto two Cities very populous, and, being compared with Cinceo, not possibly to be discerned which is the greater of them. These cities are as well walled as any Cities in all the world. As you come in to either of them, there standeth so great and mighty a bridge, that the like thereof I have never seene in Portugal nor else where. I heard one of my fellowes say, that hee tolde in one bridge 40. arches. The occasion wherefore these bridges are made so great is, for that the Countrey is toward the sea very plaine and low, and overflowed ever as the sea water encreaseth. The breadth of the bridges, although it bee well proportioned unto the length thereof, yet are they equally built, no higher in the middle then at either ende, in such wise that you may see directly from the one ende to the other: the sides are wonderfully well engraved after the maner of Rome-workes. But that we did most marveile at was therewithall the hugenesse of the stones, the like whereof, as we came in to the Citie, we did see many set up in places dis-habited by the way, to no small charges of theirs, howbeit to little purpose, whereas no body seeth them but such as doe come by. The arches are not made after our fashion, vaulted with sundry stones set together: but paved, as it were, whole stones reaching from one piller to an other, in such wise that they lye both for the arches heads, and galantly serve also for the high way. I have bene astonied to beholde the hugenesse of the aforesaid stones: some of them are xii. pases long and upward, the least 11. good pases long, and an halfe.

The ways echwhere are galantly paved with foure-square stone, except it be where for want of stone they use to lay bricke: in this voyage wee travailed over certaine hilles, where the wayes were pitched, and in many places no worse paved then in the plaine ground.

This causeth us to thinke, that in all the world there bee no better workemen for buildings, then the inhabitants of China. The Countrey is so well inhabited, that no one foote of ground is left untilld: small store of cattell have we seene this day, we saw onely certaine oxen wherewithall the countrey men do plow their ground. One ox draweth the plough alone, not onely in this shire, but in other places also, wherein is greater store of cattell. These countrey men by arte do that in tillage, which we are constrained to doe by force. Here be solde the voydings of close stooles, although there wanteth not the dung of beastes: and the excrements of man are good marchandise throughout all China. The dungfarmers seek in every streete by exchange to buy this durtie ware for herbs and wood. The custome is very good for keeping the Citie cleane. There is great abundance of hennes, geese, duckes, swine, and goates, wethers have they none: the hennes are solde by weight, and so are all other things. Two pound of hennes flesh, geese, or ducke, is worth two foi of their money, that is, d.ob.sterling. Swines flesh is sold at a penie the pound. Beefe beareth the same price, for the scarcitie thereof, howbeit Northward from Fuquieo and farther off from the seacoast, there is beefe more plentie and solde better cheape; We have had in all the Cities we passed through, great abundance of all these victuals, beefe onely excepted. And if this Countrey were like unto India, the inhabitants whereof eate neither henne, beefe, nor porke, but keepe that onely for the Portugals and Moores, they would be sold here for nothing. But it so falling out, that the Chineans are the greatest eaters in all the world, they do feed upon all things, specially on porke, which, the fatter it is, is unto them the lesse lothsome. The highest price of these things aforesaid I have set downe, better cheape shal you sometimes buy them for the great plentie thereof in this countrey. Frogs are solde at the same price that is made of hennes, and are good meate amongst them, as also dogs, cats, rats, snakes, and all other uncleane meates.

The Cities be very gallant, specially neere unto the gates, the which are marveilously great, and covered with iron. The gatehouses are built on high with towers, & the lower part thereof is made of bricke & stone, proportionally with the walls, from the walls upward the building

is of timber, and many stories in it one above the other. The strength of their townes is in the mightie walles and ditches, artillerie have they none.

The streetes in Cinceo, and in all the rest of the Cities we have seene are very faire, so large and so straight, that it is wonderfull to behold. Their houses are built with timber, the foundations onely excepted, the which are layd with stone: in ech side of the streetes are pentises or continuall porches for the marchants to walke under: the breadth of the streets is neverthesse such, that in them 15. men may ride commodiously side by side. As they ride they must needs passe under many high arches of triumph that crosse over the streetes made of timber, and carved diversly, covered with tiles of fine clay: under these arches the Mercers do utter their smaller wares, & such as list to stand there are defended from raine and the heate of the Sunne. The greater gentlemen have these arches at their doores: although some of them be not so mightily built as the rest.

I shall have occasion to speake of a certaine order of gentlemen that are called Louteas. I wil first therefore expound what this word signifieth. Loutea is as much to say in our language as Sir, and when any of them calleth his name, he answereth Sir: and as we do say, that the king hath made some gentleman, so say they, that there is made a Loutea. And for that amongst them the degrees are divers both in name and office, I will tell you onely of some principals, being not able to advertise you of all.

The maner how gentlemen are created Louteas, and do come to that honour and title, is by the giving of a broad girdle, not like to the rest, and a cap, at the commaundement of the king. The name Loutea is more generall & common unto mo, then the equalitie of honour thereby signified agreeth withall. Such Louteas as doe serve their prince in weightie matters for justice, are created after trial made of their learning: but the other which serve in smaller affaires, as Captaines, constables, sergeants by land and sea, receivers and such like, whereof there be in every citie, as also in this, very many, are made for favour: the chiefe Louteas are served kneeling.

The whole province of China is divided, as I have said, into 13. shires, in every shire at the least is one governour called there Tutan, in some shires there be two.

Chiefe in office next unto them be certaine other named Chians, that is, high Commissioners as you would say, or visiters, with full authoritie in such wise, that they doe call unto an accompt the Tutans themselves, but their authoritie lasteth not in any shire longer then one yere. Neverthelesse in every shire being at the least 7. cities, yea, in some of them 15. or 16. beside other borowghes and townes not well to be numbred, these visiters where they come are so honoured and feared, as though they were some great princes. At the yeres end, their circuit done, they come unto that Citie which is chiefe of others in the shire, to do justice there: finally busying themselves in the searching out of such as are to receive the order of Louteas, whereof more shalbe said in another place.

Over and besides these officers, in the cheife City of ech one of these aforesaid 13. provinces, is resident one Ponchiassi, Captaine thereof, and treasurer of all the kings revenues. This Magistrate maketh his abode in one of the foure greatest houses that be in all these head Cities. And although the principall part of his function be to be Captaine, to be treasurer of the revenues in that province, & to send these revenues at appointed times to the Court: yet hath he notwithstanding by his office also to meddle with matters appertaining unto justice.

In the second great house dwelleth an other Magistrate called Anchiassi, a great officer also, for he hath dealings in all matters of justice. Who although he be somewhat inferior in dignitie unto the Ponchiassi, yet for his great dealings and generall charge of justice, whosoever seeth the affaires of the one house and the other might judge this Anchiassi to be the greater.

Tuzi, an other officer so called, lieth in the thirde house, a magistrate of importance, specially in things belonging unto warfare, for thereof hath he charge.

There is resident in the 4. house a fourth officer, bearing name Taissu. In this house is the principall prison of all the Citie. Ech one of these Magistrates aforesaide may both lay evill doers in prison, & deliver them out againe, except ye fact be heinous & of importance: in such a case they can do nothing, except they do meet al together. And if the deed deserveth death, all they together cannot determine thereof, without recourse made unto the Chian wheresoever hee be, or to the Tutan: and eftsoones it

falleth out, that the case is referred unto higher power. In all Cities, not onely chiefe in ech shire, but in the rest also, are meanes found to make Louteas. Many of them do study at the prince his charges, wherefore at the yeeres ende they resort unto the head Cities, whither the Chians doe come, as it hath bene earst saide, as well to give these degrees, as to sit in judgement over the prisoners.

The Chians go in circuit every yere, but such as are to be chosen to the greatest offices meete not but from three yeeres to three yeeres, and that in certaine large halles appointed for them to be examined in. Many things are asked them, whereunto if they doe answere accordingly, and be found sufficient to take their degree, the Chian by and by granteth it them: but the Cap and girdle, whereby they are knowen to be Louteas, they weare not before that they be confirmed by the king. Their examination done, and triall made of them, such as have taken their degree wont to be given them with all ceremonies, use to banquet and feast many dayes together (as the Chineans fashion is to ende all their pleasures with eating and drinking) and so remaine chosen to do the king service in matters of learning. The other examinares founde insufficient to proceed are sent backe to their studie againe. Whose ignorance is perceived to come of negligence and default, such a one is whipped, and sometimes sent to prison, where lying that yeere when this kinde of acte was, we found many thus punished, and demaunding the cause thereof, they saide it was for that they knew not how to answere unto certaine things asked them. It is a world to see how these Louteas are served and feared, in such wise, that in publike assemblies at one shrike they give, all the servitors belonging unto justice tremble thereat. At their being in these places, when they list to moove, be it but even to the gate, these servitors doe take them up, and carry them in seates of beaten gold. After this sort are they borne when they goe in the City, either for their owne businesse abroad, or to see ech other at home. For the dignitie they have, and office they doe beare, they be all accompanied: the very meanest of them all that goeth in these seates is ushered by two men at the least, that cry unto the people to give place, howbeit they neede it not, for that reverence the common people have unto them. They have also in



their company certaine Sergeants with their Maces either silvered or altogether silver, some two, some foure, other sixe, other eight, conveniently for ech one his degree. The more principal and chiefe Louteas have going orderly before these Sergeants, many other with staves, and a great many catchpoules with rods of Indish canes dragged on the ground, so that the streets being paved, you may heare afarre off as well the noyse of the rods, as the voyce of the criers. These fellowes serve also to apprehend others, and the better to be knowen they weare livery red girdles, and in their caps peacocks feathers. Behinde these Louteas come such as doe beare certaine tables hanged at staves endes, wherein is written in silver letters, the name, degree, and office of that Loutea, whom they follow. In like maner they have borne after them hattes agreeable unto their titles: if the Loutea be meane, then hath he brought after him but one hat, and that may not be yealowe: but if he be of the better sort, then may he have two, three, or foure: the principall and chiefe Louteas may have all their hats yealow, the which among them is accompted great honour. The Loutea for warres, although he be but meane, may notwithstanding have yealow hats. The Tutans and Chians, when they goe abroad, have besides all this before them ledde three or foure horses with their guard in armour.

Furthermore the Louteas, yea and all the people of China, are wont to eate their meate sitting on stooles at high tables as we doe, and that very cleanly, although they use neither table-clothes nor napkins. Whatsoever is set downe upon the boord is first carved before that it be brought in: they feede with two sticks, refraining from touching their meate with their hands, even as we do with forkes: for the which respect they lesse do neede any table clothes. Ne is the nation only civill at meate, but also in conversation, and in courtesie they seeme to exceede all other. Likewise in their dealings after their maner they are so ready, that they farre passe all other Gentiles and Moores: the greater states are so vaine, that they line their clothes with the best silke that may be found. The Louteas are an idle generation, without all maner of exercises and pastimes, except it be eating and drinking. Sometimes they walke abroad in the fields to make the souldiers shoot at pricks with their bowes, but their eating passeth: they will stand eating

even when the other do draw to shoot. The pricke is a great blanket spread on certaine long poles, he that striketh it, hath of the best man there standing a piece of crimson Taffata, the which is knit about his head : in this sort the winners be honoured, and the Louteas with their bellies full returne home againe. The inhabitants of China be very great Idolaters, all generally doe worship the heavens : and, as wee are wont to say, God knoweth it : so say they at every word, Tien Tautee, that is to say, The heavens doe know it. Some doe worship the Sonne, and some the Moone, as they thinke good, for none are bound more to one then to another. In their temples, the which they do call Meani, they have a great altar in the same place as we have, true it is that one may goe round about it. There set they up the image of a certaine Loutea of that countrey, whom they have in great reverence for certaine notable things he did. At the right hand standeth the divel much more ugly painted then we doe use to set him out, whereunto great homage is done by such as come into the temple to aske counsell, or to draw lottes : this opinion they have of him, that he is malicious and able to do evil. If you aske them what they do thinke of the soules departed, they will answer that they be immortall, and that as soone as any one departeth out of this life, he becommeth a divel if hee have lived well in this world, if otherwise, that the same divel changeth him into a busse, oxe, or dogge. Wherefore to this divel they doe much honour, to him doe they sacrifice, praying him that he will make them like unto himselfe, and not like other beastes. They have moreover another sort of temples, wherein both upon the altars and also on the walls do stand many idols well proportioned, but bare headed : these beare name Omithofon, accompted of them spirits, but such as in heaven do neither good nor evill, thought to be such men and women as have chastly lived in this world in abstinence from fish and flesh, fed onely with rise and salates. Of that divel they make some accompt : for these spirits they care litle or nothing at all. Againe they holde opinion that if a man do well in this life, the heavens will give him many temporall blessings, but if he doe evil, then shall he have infirmities, diseases, troubles, and penurie, and all this without any knowledge of God. Finally, this people knoweth no other thing then to live and die, yet because they be reasonable creatures,

all seemed good unto them we speake in our language, though it were not very sufficient: our maner of praying especially pleased them, and truely they are well ynough disposed to receive the knowledge of the trueth. Our Lord grant for his mercy all things so to be disposed, that it may sometime be brought to passe, that so great a nation as this is perish not for want of helpe.

Our maner of praying so well liked them, that in prison importunately they besought us to write for them somewhat as concerning heaven, the which we did to their contentation w<sup>t</sup> such reasons as we knew, howbeit not very cunningly. As they do their idolatry they laugh at themselves. If at any time this countrey might be joyned in league with the kingdome of Portugale, in such wise that free accesse were had to deale with the people there, they might all be soone converted. The greatest fault we do finde in them is Sodomie, a vice very common in the meaner sort, and nothing strange amongst the best. This sinne were it left of them, in all other things so well disposed they be, that a good interpreter in a short space might do there great good: If, as I said, the countrey were joyned in league with us.

Furthermore the Louteas, with all the people of China, are wont to solemnize the dayes of the new and full Moones in visiting one an other, and making great banquets: for to that end, as I earst said, do tend all their pastimes, and spending their days in pleasure. They are wont also to solemnize ech one his birth day, whereunto their kindred and friends do resort of custome, with presents of jewels or money, receiving againe for their reward good cheare. They keepe in like maner a generall feast with great banquets that day their king was borne. But their most principall and greatest feast of all, and best cheare, is the first day of their new yeere, namely the first day of the new Moone of February, so that their first moneth is March, and they reckon the times accordingly, respect being had unto the reigne of their princes: as when any deed is written, they date it thus, Made such a day of such a moone, and such a yeere of the reigne of such a king. And their ancient writings beare date of the yeeres of this or that king.

Now will I speake of the maner which the Chineans doe observe in doing of justice, that it may be knownen how farre these Gentiles do herein exceed many Christians,

that be more bounden then they to deale justly and in trueth. Because the Chinish king maketh his abode continually in the City Pachin, his kingdome so great, & the shires so many, as tofore it hath bene said: in it therefore the governours and rulers, much like unto our Shiriffes, be appointed so suddenly and speedily discharged againe, that they have no time to grow naught. Furthermore to keepe the state in more securitie, the Louteas that governe one shire are chosen out of some other shire distant farre off, where they must leave their wives, children and goods, carying nothing with them but themselves. True it is, that at their comming thither they doe finde in a readinesse all things necessary, their house, furniture, servants, and all other things in such perfection and plentie, that they want nothing. Thus the king is well served without all feare of treason.

In the principall Cities of the shires be foure chiefe Louteas, before whom are brought all matters of the inferiour Townes, throughout the whole Realme. Divers other Louteas have the managing of justice, and receiving of rents, bound to yeelede an accompt thereof unto the greater officers. Other do see that there be no evil rule kept in the Citie: ech one as it behoveth him. Generally all these doe imprison malefactours, cause them to be whipped and racked, hoysing them up and downe by the armes with a cord, a thing very usuall there, and accompted no shame. These Louteas do use great diligence in the apprehending of theeves, so that it is a wonder to see a theefe escape away in any City, towne or village. Upon the sea neere unto the shoare many are taken, and looke even as they are taken, so be they first whipped, and afterward layde in prison, where shortly after they all die for hunger and cold. At that time when we were in prison, there died of them above three-score and ten. If happely any one, having the meanes to get food, do escape, he is set with the condemned persons, and provided for as they be by the King, in such wise as hereafter it shalbe said.

Their whips be certaine pieces of canes, cleft in the middle, in such sort that they seeme rather plaine then sharpe. He that is to be whipped lieth grovelong on the ground: upon his thighes the hangman layeth on blowes mightily with these canes, that the standers by tremble at their crueltie. Ten stripes draw a great deale

of blood, 20. or 30. spoile the flesh altogether, 50. or 60. will require long time to bee healed, and if they come to the number of one hundred, then are they incurable.

The Louteas observe moreover this: when any man is brought before them to be examined, they aske him openly in the hearing of as many as be present, be the offence never so great. Thus did they also behave themselves with us: For this cause amongst them can there be no false witnesse, as dayly amongst us it falleth out. This good commeth thereof, that many being alwayes about the Judge to heare the evidence, and beare witnesse, the processe cannot be falsified, as it happeneth sometimes with us. The Moores, Gentiles, and Jewes have all their sundry othes, the Moores do sweare by their Mossafos, the Brachmans by their Fili, the rest likewise by the things they do worship. The Chineans though they be wont to sweare by heaven, by the Moone, by the Sunne, and by all their Idoles, in judgement neverthesse they sweare not at all. If for some offence an othe be used of any one, by and by with the least evidence he is tormented, so be the witnesses he bringeth, if they tell not the trueth, or do in any point disagree, except they be men of worship and credit, who are beleaved without any further matter: the rest are made to confesse the trueth by force of torments and whips. Besides this order observed of them in examinations, they do feare so much their King, and he where he maketh his abode keepeth them so lowe, that they dare not once stirre. Againe, these Louteas as great as they be, notwithstanding the multitude of Notaries they have, not trusting any others, do write all great processes and matters of importance themselves. Moreover one vertue they have worthy of great praise, and that is, being men so wel regarded and accompted as though they were princes, yet they be patient above measure in giving audience. We poore strangers brought before them might say what we would, as all to be lyes and fallaces that they did write, ne did we stand before them with the usuall ceremonies of that Countrey, yet did they beare with us so patiently, that they caused us to wonder, knowing specially how litle any advocate or Judge is wont in our Countrey to beare with us. For wheresoever in any Towne of Christendome should be accused unknowen men as we

were, I know not what end the very innocents cause would have: but we in a heathen Countrey, having our great enemies two of the chiefest men in a whole Towne, wanting an interpreter, ignorant of that Countrey language, did in the end see our great adversaries cast into prison for our sake, and deprived of their Offices and honour for not doing justice, yea not to escape death: for, as the rumour goeth, they shalbe beheaded. Somewhat is now to be said of the lawes that I have bene able to know in this Countrey, and first, no theft or murther is at any time pardoned: adulterers are put in prison, and the fact once proved, are condemned to die, the womans husband must accuse them: this order is kept with men & women found in that fault, but theeves and murderers are imprisoned as I have said, where they shortly die for hunger and cold. If any one happely escape by bribing the Gailer to give him meate, his processe goeth further, and commeth to the Court where he is condemned to die. Sentence being given, the prisoner is brought in publique with a terrible band of men that lay him in Irons hand and foot, with a boord at his necke one handfull broad, in length reaching downe to his knees, cleft in two parts, and with a hole one handfull downeward in the table fit for his necke, the which they inclose up therein, nailing the boord fast together; one handfull of the boord standeth up behinde in the necke: The sentence and cause wherefore the fellow was condemned to die, is written in that part of the table that standeth before.

This ceremony ended, he is laid in a great prison in the company of some other condemned persons, the which are found by the king as long as they do live. The bord aforesaid so made tormenteth the prisoners very much, keeping them both from rest, & eke letting them to eat commodiously, their hands being manacled in irons under that boord, so that in fine there is no remedy but death. In the chiefe Cities of every shire, as we have erst said, there be foure principall houses, in ech of them a prison: but in one of them, where the Taissu maketh his abode, there is a greater and a more principal prison then in any of the rest: and although in every City there be many, neverthesse in three of them remaine onely such as be condemned to die. Their death is much prolonged, for that ordinarily there is no execution done but once a yeere, though many die for hunger and cold, as we have seene in



this prison. Execution is done in this maner. The Chian, to wit, the high Commissioner or Lord chiefe Justice, at the yeres end goeth to the head City, where he heareth againe the causes of such as be condemned. Many times he delivereth some of them, declaring ye boord to have bene wrongfully put about their necks: the visitation ended, he choseth out seven or eight, not many more or lesse of the greatest malefactors, the which, to feare and keepe in awe the people, are brought into a great market place, where all the great Louteas meete together, and after many ceremonies and superstitions, as the use of the Countrey is, are beheaded. This is done once a yeere: who so escapeth that day, may be sure that he shall not be put to death all that yeere following, and so remaineth at the kings charges in the greater prison. In that prison where we lay were alwayes one hundred and mo of these condemned persons, besides them that lay in other prisons.

These prisons wherein the condemned caytifes do remaine are so strong, that it hath not bene heard, that any prisoner in all China hath escaped out of prison, for in deed it is a thing impossible. The prisons are thus builded. First all the place is mightily walled about, the walles be very strong and high, the gate of no lesse force: within it three other gates, before you come where the prisoners do lye, there many great lodgings are to be seene of the Louteas, Notaries, Parthions, that is, such as do there keepe watch and ward day and night, the court large and paved, on the one side whereof standeth a prison, with two mighty gates, wherein are kept such prisoners as have committed enormous offences. This prison is so great, that in it are streetes and Market places wherein all things necessary are sold. Yea some prisoners live by that kinde of trade, buying and selling, and letting out beds to hire: some are dayly sent to prison, some dayly delivered, wherefore this place is never void of 7. or eight hundred men that go at libertie.

Into one other prison of condemned persons shall you go at three yron gates, the court paved and vaulted round about, and open above as it were a cloister. In this cloister be eight roomes with yron doores, and in ech of them a large gallerie, wherein every night the prisoners do lie at length, their feet in the stocks, their bodies hampered in huge wooden grates that keep them from

sitting, so that they lye as it were in a cage, sleepe if they can : in the morning they are losed againe, that they may go into the court. Notwithstanding the strength of this prison, it is kept with a garrison of men, part whereof watch within the house, part of them in the court, some keepe about the prison with lanterns and watch-bells answering one another five times every night, and giving warning so lowd, that the Loutea resting in a chamber not neere thereunto, may heare them. In these prisons of condemned persons remaine some 15, other 20. yeres imprisoned, not executed, for the love of their honorable friends that seeke to prolong their lives. Many of these prisoners be shoemakers, and have from the king a certaine allowance of rise : some of them worke for the keeper, who suffireth them to go at libertie without fetters and boords, the better to worke. Howbeit when the Loutea calleth his checke roll, & with the keeper vieweth them, they all weare their liveries, that is, boords at their necks, yronned hand and foot. When any of these prisoners dieth, he is to be seene of the Loutea and Notaries, brought out of a gate so narrow, that there can but one be drawen out there at once. The prisoner being brought forth, one of the aforesaid Parthions striketh him thrise on the head with an yron sledge, that done he is delivered unto his friends, if he have any, otherwise the king hireth men to cary him to his buriall in the fields.

Thus adulterers and theeves are used. Such as be imprisoned for debt once knowen, lie there until it be paid. The Taissu or Loutea calleth them many times before him by the vertue of his office, who understanding the cause wherefore they do not pay their debts, appointeth them a certaine time to do it, within the compasse whereof if they discharge not their debts being debtors in deed. then they be whipped and condemned to perpetuall imprisonment : if the creditors be many, and one is to be paid before another, they do, contrary to our maner, pay him first of whom they last borrowed, and so ordinarily the rest, in such sort that the first lender be the last receiver. The same order is kept in paying legacies : the last named receiveth his portion first. They accompt it nothing to shew favour to such a one as can do the like againe : but to do good to them that have litle or nothing, that is worth thanks, therefore

pay they the last before the first, for that their intent seemeth rather to be vertuous then gainefull.

When I said, that such as be committed to prison for theft and murther were judged by the Court, I ment not them that were apprehended in the deed doing, for they need no triall, but are brought immediatly before the Tutan, who out of hand giveth sentence. Other not taken so openly, which do need trial, are the malefactors put to execution once a yere in the chiefe cities, to keepe in awe the people: or condemned, do remaine in prison, looking for their day. Theeves being taken are caried to prison from one place to another in a chest upon mens shoulders, hired therfore by the king, the chest is 6. handfuls high, the prisoner sitteth therein upon a bench, the cover of the chest is two boords, amid them both a pillery-like hole, for the prisoners necke, there sitteth he with his head without the chest, and the rest of his body within, not able to moove or turne his head this way or that way, nor to plucke it in: the necessities of nature he voydeth at a hole in the bottome of the chest, the meate he eateth is put into his mouth by others. There abideth he day and night during his whole journey: if happily his porters stumble, or the chest do jogge or be set downe carelessly, it turneth to his great paines that sitteth therein, al such motions being unto him hanging as it were. Thus were our companions caried from Cinceo, 7. daies journey, never taking any rest as afterward they told us, & their greatest grieve was to stay by the way: as soone as they came, being taken out of the chests, they were not able to stand on their feet, and two of them died shortly after. When we lay in prison at Fuquieo, we came many times abroad, & were brought to the pallaces of noble men, to be seene of them & their wives, for that they had never seene any Portugale before. Many things they asked us of our Country, and our fashions, & did write every thing, for they be curious in novelties above measure. The gentlemen shew great courtesie unto strangers, and so did we finde at their hands, and because that many times we were brought abroad into the City, somewhat wil I say of such things as I did see therein, being a gallant City, and chiefe in one of the 13. shires aforesaid. The City Fuquieo is very great, & mightily walled with square stone both within and without, and, as it may seeme

by the breadth therof, filled up in the middle with earth, layd over with brick & covered with tyle, after the maner of porches or galleries, that one might dwel therein. The staires they use are so easily made, that one may go them up and downe a hors-backe, as eftsoones they do: the streets are paved, as already it hath bin said: there be a great number of Marchants, every one hath written in a great table at his doore such things as he hath to sel. In like maner every artisane painteth out his craft: the market places be large, great abundance of al things there be to be sold. The city standeth upon water, many streames run through it, the banks pitched, & so broad that they serve for streets to the cities use. Over the streams are sundry bridges both of timber & stone, which being made level with the streets, hinder not the passage of the barges too and fro, the chanel is so deepe. Where the streames come in and go out of the city, be certaine arches in the wal, there go in and out their Parai, that is a kind of barges they have, & that in the day time only: at night these arches are closed up with gates, so do they shut up al the gates of the City. These streames and barges do ennoblish very much the City, and make it as it were, to seeme another Venice. The buildings are even, wel made, high, not lofted, except it be some wherein marchandize is laid. It is a world to see how great these cities are, and the cause is, for that the houses are built even, as I have said, & do take a great deale of roome. One thing we saw in this city that made us al to wonder, and is worthy to be noted: namely, over a porch at the comming in to one of the aforesaid 4. houses, which the king hath in every shire for his governors, as I have erst said, standeth a tower built upon 40. pillers, ech one whereof is but one stone, ech one 40. handfuls or spans long: in bredth or compasse 12, as many of us did measure them. Besides this, their greatnesse is such in one piece, that it might seeme impossible to worke them: they be moreover cornered, and in colour, length and breadth so like, that the one nothing differeth from the other. This thing made us all to wonder very much.

We are wont to cal this country China, and the people Chineans, but as long as we were prisoners, not hearing amongst them at any time that name, I determined to learne how they were called: and asked sometimes by

them thereof, for that they understood us not when we called them Chineans, I answered them, that al the inhabitants of India named them Chineans, wherefore I praied them that they would tel me, for what occasion they are so called, whether peradventure any city of theirs bare that name. Hereunto they alwayes answered me, y<sup>t</sup> they have no such name, nor ever had. Then did I aske them what name the whole Country beareth, & what they would answere being asked of other nations what countrymen they were? It was told me that of ancient time in this country had bin many kings, & though presently it were al under one, ech kingdom nevertheles enjoyed that name it first had, these kingdomes are the provinces I spake of before. In conclusion they said, that the whole country is called Tamen, & the inhabitants Tamegines, so that this name China or Chineans, is not heard of in y<sup>t</sup> country. I thinke that the neernesse of another province therabout called Cochinchina, & the inhabitants therof Cochinesses, first discovered before China was, lying not far from Malacca, did give occasion to ech of the nations, of that name Chineans, as also the whole country to be named China. But their proper name is that aforesaid.

I have heard moreover that in the City of Nanquim remaineth a table of gold, and in it written a kings name, as a memory of that residence the kings were wont to keepe there. This table standeth in a great pallace, covered alwayes, except it be on some of their festivall dayes, at what time they are wont to let it be seene, covered neverthelesse as it is, all the nobilitie of the City going of duetie to doe it every day reverence. The like is done in the head Cities of all the other shires in the pallaces of the Ponchiassini, wherein these aforesaid tables doe stand with the kings name written in them, although no reverence be done thereunto but in solemne feastes.

I have likewise understood that the City Pachin, where the king maketh his abode, is so great, that to go from one side to the other, besides the Suburbs, the which are greater then the City it selfe, it requireth one whole day a horseback, going hackney pase. In the suburbs be many wealthy marchants of all sorts. They told me furthermore that it was moted about, and in the motes great store of fish, whereof the king maketh great gaines.

It was also told me that the king of China had no king to wage battel withall, besides the Tartars, with whom he had concluded a peace more then 80. yeres ago. Neverthesse their friendship was not so great, that the one nation might marry with the other. And demanding with whom they married, they said, that in olde time the Chinish kings when they would marry their daughters, accustomed to make a solemne feast, whereunto came all sorts of men. The daughter that was to be married, stood in a place where she might see them all, and looke whom she liked best, him did she chuse to husband, and if happely he were of a base condition, hee became by and by a gentleman : but this custome hath bene left long since. Now a dayes the king marrieth his daughters at his owne pleasure, with great men of the kingdome : the like order he observeth in the marriage of his sonnes.

They have moreover one thing very good, and that which made us all to marveile at them being Gentiles : namely, that there be hospitals in all their Cities, alwayes full of people, we never saw any poore body begge. We therefore asked the cause of this : answered it was, that in every City there is a great circuit, wherein be many houses for poore people, for blinde, lame, old folke, not able to travaile for age, nor having any other meanes to live. These folke have in the aforesaid houses ever plentie of rice during their lives, but nothing else. Such as be received into these houses, come in after this maner. When one is sicke, blinde or lame, he maketh a supplication to the Ponchiassi, and proving that to be true he writeth, he remaineth in the aforesaid great lodging as long as he liveth : besides this they keepe in these places swine and hennes, whereby the poore be relieved without going a begging.

I said before that China was full of rivers, but now I minde to confirme the same anew : for the farther we went into the Countrey, the greater we found the rivers. Sometimes we were so farre off from the sea, that where we came no sea fish had bene seene, and salt was there very deare, of fresh water fish yet was there great abundance, and that fish very good : they keep it good after this maner. Where the rivers do meete, and so passe into the sea, there lieth great store of boats, specially where no salt-water commeth, and that in March and April. These boates are so many that it seemeth wonder-



full, ne serve they for other then to take small fish. By the rivers sides they make leyres of fine and strong nettes, that lye three handfuls under water, and one above to keepe and nourish their fish in, untill such time as other fishers do come with boates, bringing for that purpose certaine great chests lined with paper, able to holde water, wherein they cary their fish up and downe the river, every day renuing the chest with fresh water, and selling their fish in every City, towne and village where they passe, unto the people as they neede it: most of them have net leyres to keepe fish in alwayes for their provision. Where the greater boates cannot passe any further forward, they take lesser, and because the whole Countrey is very well watered, there is so great plenty of divers sorts of fish, that it is wonderfull to see: assuredly we were amazed to behold the maner of their provision. Their fish is chiefly nourished with the dung of Buffles and oxen, that greatly fatteth it. Although I said their fishing to be in March and April at what time we saw them do it, neverthesse they told us that they fished at all times, for that usually they do feed on fish, wherefore it behoveth them to make their provision continually.

When we had passed Fuquien, we went into Quicin shire, where the fine clay vessell is made, as I said before: and we came to a City, the one side whereof is built upon the foote of a hill, whereby passeth a river navigable: there we tooke boat, and went by water toward the Sea: on ech side of the river we found many Cities, Townes and villages, wherein we saw great store of marchandize, but specially of fine clay: there did we land by the way to buy victuals and other necessities. Going downe this river Southward, we were glad that wee drew neere unto a warmer Countrey, from whence we had bene farre distant: this Countrey we passed through in eight dayes, for our journey lay downe the streame. Before that I doe say any thing of that shire we came into, I will first speake of the great City of Quicin, wherein alwayes remaineth a Tutan, that is a governour, as you have seene, though some Tutans do governe two or three shires.

That Tutan that was condemned for our cause, of whom I spake before, was borne in this Countrey, but he governed Foquien shire: nothing it availed him to

be so great an officer. This Countrey is so great, that in many places where we went, there had bene as yet no talke of his death, although he were executed a whole yere before. At the Citie Quanchi whither we came, the river was so great that it seemed a Sea, though it were so litle where we tooke water, that we needed small boats. One day about 9. of the clocke, beginning to row neere the walls with the streame, we came at noone to a bridge made of many barges, overlanked al together with two mightie cheines. There stayed we untill it was late, but we saw not one go either up thereon or downe, except two Louteas that about the going downe of the Sunne, came and set them downe there, the one on one side, the other on the other side. Then was the bridge opened in many places, and barges both great and small to the number of sixe hundred began to passe: those that went up the streame at one place, such as came downe at an other. When all had thus shot the bridge, then was it shut up againe. We heare say that every day they take this order in all principall places of marchandize, for paying of the Custome unto the king, specially for salt, whereof the greatest revenues are made that the king hath in this Countrey. The passages of the bridge where it is opened, be so neere the shoare, that nothing can passe without touching the same. To stay the barges at their pleasure, that they goe no further forward, are used certaine iron instruments. The bridge consisteth of 112. barges, there stayed we untill the evening that they were opened, lothsomely oppressed by the multitude of people that came to see us, so many in number, that we were enforced to go aside from the banke untill such time as the bridge was opened: howbeit we were nevertheless thronged about with many boates full of people. And though in other Cities and places where we went, the people came so importunate upon us, that it was needfull to withdraw our selves: yet were we here much more molested for the number of people: & this bridge is the principall way out of the Citie unto another place so wel inhabited, that were it walled about, it might be compared to the Citie. When we had shot the bridge, we kept along the Citie until it was night, and then met we with an other river that joyned with this, we rowed up that by the walls untill we came to another bridge gallantly made of barges, but lesser a great deale then

that other bridge over the greater streame: here stayed we that night, and other two dayes with more quiet, being out of the preasse of the people. These rivers do meet without at one corner point of the City. In either of them were so many barges great and small, that we all thought them at the least to be above three thousand: the greater number thereof was in the lesser river, where we were. Amongst the rest here lay certaine greater vessels, called in their language Parai, that serve for the Tutan, when he taketh his voyage by other rivers that joyne with this, towards Pachin, where the king maketh his abode. For, as many times I have erst said, all this Countrey is full of rivers. Desirous to see those Parai we got into some of them, where we found some chambers set foorth with gilded beds very richly, other furnished with tables and seats, and all other things so neat and in perfection, that it was wonderfull.

Quiacim shire, as farre as I can perceive, lieth upon the South. On that side we kept at our first entry thereinto, travayling not farre from the high mountaines we saw there. Asking what people dwelleth beyond those mountaines, it was tolde me that they be theeves & men of a strange language. And because that unto sundry places neere this river the mountaines doe approach, whence the people issuing downe do many times great harme, this order is taken at the entry into Quiacim shire. To guard this river whereon continually go to & fro Parai great & small fraught with salt, fish poudred with peper, and other necessities for that countrey, they do lay in divers places certaine Parai, and great barges armed, wherein watch and ward is kept day and night on both sides of the river, for the safety of the passage, & securitie of such Parai as do remaine there, though the travailers never go but many in company. In every rode there be at the least thirtie, in some two hundred men, as the passage requireth. This guard is kept usually untill you come to the City Onchio, where continually the Tutan of this shire, and eke of Cantan, maketh his abode. From that City upward, where the river waxeth more narrow, and the passage more dangerous, there be alwayes armed one hundred and fiftie Parai, to accompany other vessels fraught with marchandize, and all this at the Kings charges. This seemed to me one of the strangest things I did see in this Countrey.

When we lay at Fuquien, we did see certaine Moores, who knew so litle of their secte, that they could say nothing else but that Mahomet was a Moore, my father was a Moore, and I am a Moore, with some other wordes of their Alcoran, wherewithall, in abstinence from swines flesh, they live untill the diuel take them all. This when I saw, & being sure that in many Chinish Cities the reliques of Mahomet are kept, as soone as we came to the City where these fellowes be, I enfourmed my selfe of them, and learned the trueth.

These Moores, as they tolde me, in times past came in great ships fraught with marchandise from Pachin ward, to a port granted unto them by the king, as hee is wont to all them that traffique into this Countrey, where they being arrived at a litle Towne standing in the havens mouth, in time converted unto their sect the greatest Loutea there. When that Loutea with all his family was become Moorish, the rest began likewise to doe the same. In this part of China the people be at libertie, every one to worship and folow what him liketh best. Wherefore no body tooke heede thereto, untill such time as the Moores perceiving that many followed them in superstition, and that the Loutea favoured them, they began to forbid wholly the eating of swines flesh. But all these countrey men and women chosing rather to forsake father and mother, then to leave off eating of porke, by no meanes would yeeld to that proclamation. For besides the great desire they all have to eate that kinde of meate, many of them do live thereby: and therefore the people complained unto the Magistrates, accusing the Moores of a conspiracie pretended betwixt them and the Loutea against their king. In this countrey, as no suspition, no not one traiterous word is long borne withall, so was the king speedily advertised thereof, who gave commandement out of hand that the aforesaid Loutea should be put to death, and with him the Moores of most importance: the other to be layde first in prison, and afterward to be sent abroad into certaine Cities, where they remained perpetuall slaves unto the king. To this City came by happe men and women threescore and odde, who at this day are brought to five men and foure women, for it is now twenty yeeres since this happened. Their offspring passeth the number of two hundreth, and they in this City, as the rest in other Cities whither they were

sent, have their Moscheas, whereunto they all resort every Friday to keepe their holy day. But, as I thinke, that will no longer endure, then whiles they doe live that came from thence, for their posteritie is so confused, that they have nothing of a Moore in them but abstinence from swines flesh, and yet many of them doe eate thereof privily. They tell mee that their native Countrey hath name Camarian, a firme land, wherein be many kings, and the Indish countrey well knownen unto them. It may so be: for as soone as they did see our servants (our servants were Preuzarettes) they judged them to be Indians: many of their wordes sounded upon the Persian tongue, but none of us coulde understand them. I asked them whether they converted any of the Chinish nation unto their secte: they answered mee, that with much a doe they converted the women with whom they doe marry, yeelding me no other cause thereof, but the difficultie they finde in them to be brought from eating swines flesh and drinking of wine. I am perswaded therefore, that if this Countrey were in league with us, forbidding them neither of both, it would be an easie matter to draw them to our Religion, from their superstition, whereat they themselves do laugh when they do their idolatry.

I have learned moreover that the Sea, whereby these Moores that came to China were wont to travaile, is a very great gulfe, that falleth into this Countrey out from Tartaria and Persia, leaving on the other side all the Countrey of China, and land of the Mogores, drawing alwayes toward the South: and of all likelyhood it is even so, because that these Moores, the which we have seene, be rather browne then white, whereby they shewe themselves to come from some warmer Countrey then China is neere to Pachin, where the rivers are frozen in the Winter for colde, and many of them so vehemently, that carts may passe over them.

We did see in this Citie many Tartars, Mogores, Brames, and Laoynes, both men and women. The Tartars are men very white, good horsemen and archers, confining with China on that side where Pachin standeth, separated from thence by great mountaines that are betwixt these kingdomes. Over them be certaine wayes to passe, and for both sides, Castles continually kept with Souldiers: in time past the Tartars were wont alwayes to have warres with the Chineans, but these

four score yeeres past they were quiet, untill the second yeere of our imprisonment. The Mogores be in like maner white, and heathen, we are advertised that of one side they border upon these Tartars, and confine with the Persian Tartars on the other side, whereof wee sawe in them some tokens, as their maner of clothes, and that kinde of hat the Saracens doe weare. The Moores affirmed, that where the king lyeth, there be many Tartars and Mogores, that brought into China certaine blewes of great value: all we thought it to be Vanil of Cambaia wont to be sold at Ormus. So that this is the true situation of that Countrey, not in the North-parts, as many times I have heard say, confining with Germanie.

As for the Brames we have seene in this city Chenchi certaine men & women, amongst whom there was one that came not long since, having as yet her haire tied up after the Pegues fashion: this woman, and other mo with whom a black Moore damsel in our company had conference, and did understand them wel ynough, had dwelt in Pegu. This new come woman, imagining that we ment to make our abode in that citie, bid us to be of good comfort, for that her countrey was not distant from thence above five dayes journey, and that out of her countrey there lay a high way for us home into our owne. Being asked the way, she answered that the first three daies the way lieth over certaine great mountaines & wildernesses, afterward people are met withall againe. Thence two dayes journey more to the Brames countrey. Wherefore I doe conclude, that Chenchi is one of the confines of this kingdome, separated by certaine huge mountaines, as it hath bene alreadie said, that lie out towards the South. In the residue of these mountaines standeth the province of Sian, the Laoyns countrey, Camboia, Campaa, and Cochinchina.

This citie chiefe of other sixteene is situated in a pleasant plaine abounding in all things necessarie, sea-fish onely excepted, for it standeth farre from the sea: of fresh fish so much store, that the market places are never emptie. The walles of this city are very strong and high: one day did I see the Louteas thereof go upon the walles to take the view thereof, borne in their seates which I spake of before, accompanied with a troupe of horsemen that went two and two: It was tolde me they might have gone three & three. We have seene more-



over, that within this aforesayd Citie the king hath moe then a thousande of his kinne lodged in great pallaces, in divers partes of the Citie: their gates be redde, and the entrie into their houses, that they may be knowen, for that is the kings colour. These Gentlemen, according to their neerénesse in blood unto the king, as soone as they be married receive their place in honour: this place neither increaseth nor diminisheth in any respect as long as the king liveth, the king appointeth them their wives and familie, allowing them by the moneth all things necessarie abundantly, as he doth to his governours of shires and Cities, howbeit, not one of these hath as long as he liveth any charge or government at all. They give themselves to eating and drinking, and be for the most part burly men of bodie, insomuch that espying any one of them whom we had not seene before, we might knowe him to be the King his cosin. They be nevertheless very pleasant, courteous, and faire conditioned: neither did we find, all the time wee were in that citie, so much honour and good intertainment any where as at their hands. They bid us to their houses to eate and drinke, and when they found us not, or we were not willing to go with them, they bid our servants and slaves, causing them to sit downe with the first. Notwithstanding the good lodging these Gentlemen have, so commodious that they want nothing, yet are they in this bondage, that during life they never goe abroad. The cause, as I did understand, wherefore the king so useth his cosins is, that none of them at any time may rebell against him: and thus he shutteth them up in three or foure other cities. Most of them can play on the Lute, and to make that kinde of pastime peculiar unto them onely, all other in the cities where they doe live be forbidden that instrument, the Curtisans and blinde folke onely excepted, who be musicians and can play.

This king furthermore, for the greater securitie of his Realme and the avoyding of tumults, letteth not one in all his countrey to be called Lord, except he be of his blood. Manie great estates and governours there be, that during their office are lodged Lordlike, and doe beare the port of mightie Princes: but they be so many times displaced and other placed a new, that they have not the time to become corrupt. True it is that during their office they be well provided for, as afterward also lodged

at the kings charges, and in pension as long as they live, payed them monethly in the cities where they dwell by certaine officers appointed for that purpose. The king then is a Lord onely, not one besides him as you have seene, except it be such as be of his blood. A Nephew likewise of the king, the kings sisters sonne, lyeth continually within the walles of the citie in a strong pallace built Castlewise, even as his other cousins do, remaying alwayes within doores, served by Eunuches, never dealing with any matters. On their festivall dayes, new moones, & full moones the magistrates make great bankets, and so do such as be of the king his blood. The kings Nephew hath to name Vanfuli, his pallace is walled about, the wall is not high, but foure-square, and in circuit nothing inferiour to the wals of Goa, the outside is painted red, in every square a gate, and over each gate a tower made of timber excellently well wrought: before the principall gate of the foure that openeth into the high streete no Loutea, be he never so great, may passe on horsebacke, or carried in his seat. Amidst this quadrangle standeth the pallace where that Nobleman lyeth, doubtlesse worth the sight, although we came not in to see it. By report the roofes of the towers and house are glased greene, & the greater part of the quadrangle set with savage trees, as Okes, Chestnuts, Cypresse, Pineapples, Cedars, and other such like that we do want, after the manner of a wood, wherein are kept Stags, Oxen, and other beasts, for that Lord his recreation never going abroad as I have sayd. One preheminance this citie hath above the rest where we have bene, & that of right, as we do thinke, that besides the multitude of market places wherein all things are to be sold through every streete continually are cryed all things necessary, as flesh of all sortes, freshfish, hearbes, oyle, vineger, meale, rise: in summa, all things so plentifully, that many houses neede no servants, every thing being brought to their doores. Most part of the marchants remaine in the suburbes, for that the cities are shut up every night, as I have sayd. The marchants therefore, the better to attend their businesse, do chuse rather to make their abode without in the suburbes then within the citie. I have seene in this river a pretie kinde of fishing, not to be omitted in my opinion, and therefore I will set it downe. The king hath in many rivers good store of

barges full of sea-crowes that breede, are fedde and doe die therein, in certaine cages, allowed monethly a certaine provision of rise. These barges the king bestoweth upon his greatest magistrates, giving to some two, to some three of them as he thinketh good, to fish therewithall after this manner. At the houre appointed to fish, all the barges are brought together in a circle, where the river is shalow, and the crowes tyed together under the wings are let leape downe into the water, some under, some above, woorth the looking upon: each one as he hath filled his bagge, goeth to his own barge and emptieth it, which done, he returneth to fish againe. Thus having taken good store of fish, they set the crowes at libertie, and do suffer them to fish for their owne pleasure. There were in that citie where I was, twentie barges at the least of these aforesayd crowes. I went almost every day to see them, yet could I never be thoroughly satisfied to see so strange a kind of fishing.

Of the Iland Japan, and other litle Iles in the East Ocean.  
By R. Willes.

THE extreame part of the knowen world unto us is the noble Iland Giapan, written otherwise Japon and Japan. This Island standeth in the East Ocean, beyond all Asia, betwixt Cathayo and the West Indies sixe and thirtie degrees Northward from the Equinoctial line, in the same clime with the South part of Spaine and Portugall, distant from thence by sea sixe thousand leagues: the travaile thither, both for civill discord, great pyracie, and often shipwracks is very dangerous. This countrey is hillie and pestered with snow, wherefore it is neither so warme as Portugall, nor yet so wealthy, so far as we can learne, wanting oyle, butter, cheese, milke, egges, sugar, honny, vineger, saffron, cynamom and pepper. Barley-branne the Ilanders doe use in stead of salt: medicinable things holsome for the bodie have they none at all. Neverthelesse in that Iland sundry fruites doe growe, not much unlike the fruites of Spaine: and great store of Silver mynes are therein to be seene. The people are tractable, civill, wittie, courteous, without deceit, in vertue and honest conversation exceeding all other nations lately discovered, but so much standing upon their reputation, that their chiefe Idole may be thought honour. The contempt thereof causeth among them much discord and

debate, manslaughter and murther : even for their reputation they doe honour their parents, keepe their promises, abstaine from adulterie and robberies, punishing by death the least robbery done, holding for a principle, that whosoever stealeth a trifle, will, if he see occasion, steale a greater thing. It may be theft is so severely punished of them, for that the nation is oppressed with scarcitie of all things necessary, and so poore, that even for miserie they strangle their owne children, preferring death before want. These fellowes doe neither eate nor kill any foule. They live chiefly by fish, hearbes, and fruites, so healthfully, that they die very old. Of Rice and Wheat there is no great store. No man is ashamed there of his povertie, neither be their gentlemen therefore lesse honoured of the meaner people, neither will the poorest gentleman there match his childe with the baser sort for any gaine, so much they do make more account of gentry then of wealth. The greatest delight they have is in armour, each boy at fourteene yeeres of age, be he borne gentle or otherwise, hath his sword and dagger : very good archers they be, contemning all other nations in comparison of their manhood and prowesse, putting not up one injurie be it never so small in worde or deede, among themselves. They feede moderately, but they drinke largely. The use of vines they knowe not, their drinke they make of Rice, utterly they doe abhorre dice, and all games, accounting nothing more vile in a man, then to give himselfe unto those things that make us greedy and desirous to get other mens goods. If at any time they do sweare, for that seldome they are wont to doe, they sweare by the Sunne : many of them are taught good letters, wherfore they may so much the sooner be brought unto Christianitie. Each one is contented with one wife : they be all desirous to learne, & naturally inclined unto honesty & courtesie : godly talke they listen unto willingly, especially wnen they understand it throughly. Their government consisteth of 3 estates. The first place is due unto the high Priest, by whose lawes & decrees all publike and private matters appertayning to religion are decided. The sects of their clergie men, whom they doe call Bonzi, be of no estimation or authoritie except the high Priest by letters patent doe confirme the same : he confirmeth and alloweth of their Tundi, who be as it were Bishops, although in

many places they are nominated by sundry Princes. These Tundi are greatly honoured of all sorts: they doe give benefices unto inferiour ministers, and do grant licences for many things as to eate flesh upon those dayes they goe in pilgrimage to their Idoles with such like privileges. Finally, this high Priest wont to be chosen in China for his wisdom and learning, made in Japan for his gentry and birth, hath so large a Dominion and revenues so great, that eftsones he beareth the petie Kings and Princes there.

Their second principal Magistrate, in their language Vo, is the chiefe Herehaught, made by succession and birth, honoured as a God. This gentleman never toucheth the ground with his foote without forfaiting of his office, he never goeth abroad out of his house, nor is at all times to be seene. At home he is either carried about in a litter, or els he goeth in wooden Choppines a foote high from the ground: commonly he sitteth in his chaire with a sword in one side, and a bow and arrowes in the other, next his bodie he weareth blacke, his outward garments be red, all shadowed over with Cypresse, at his cappe hang certaine Lambeaux much like unto a Bishops Miter, his forehead is painted white and red, he eateth his meat in earthen dishes. This Herehaught determineth in all Japan the diverse titles of honour, whereof in that Iland is great plentie, each one particularly known by his badge, commonly seene in sealing up their letters, and dayly altered according to their degrees. About this Vo every Noble man hath his Soliciter, for the nation is so desirous of praise and honour, that they strive among themselves who may bribe him best. By these meanes the Herehaught groweth so rich, that although hee have neither land nor any revenues otherwise, yet may he be accounted the wealthiest man in all Japan. For three causes this great Magistrate may loose his office: first, if he touch the ground with his foote, as it hath beene already said: next, if he kill any body: thirdly, if he be found an enemy unto peace and quietnesse, howbeit neither of these aforesaid causes is sufficient to put him to death.

Their third chiefe officer is a Judge, his office is to take up and to end matters in controversie, to determine of warres and peace, that which he thinketh right, to punish rebels, wherein he may commaund the noble men

to assist him upon paine of forfeiting their goods : nevertheless at all times he is not obeyed, for that many matters are ended rather by might and armes, then determined by law. Other controversies are decided either in the Temporall Court, as it seemeth good unto the Princes, or in the Spirituall consistorie before the Tundi.

Rebelles are executed in this manner, especially if they be noble men or officers. The king looke what day he giveth sentence against any one, the same day the partie, wheresoever he be, is advertised thereof, and the day told him of his execution. The condemned person asketh of the messenger whether it may bee lawfull for him to kill himselfe : the which thing when the king doeth graunt, the partie taking it for an honour, putteth on his best apparel and launcing his body a crosse from the breast downe all the belly, murthereth himselfe. This kind of death they take to be without infamie, neither doe their children for their fathers crime so punished, loose their goods. But if the king reserve them to be executed by the hangman, then flocketh he together his children, his servants, and friends home to his house, to preserve his life by force. The king committeth the fetching of him out unto his chiefe Judge, who first setteth upon him with bow and arrowes, and afterward with pikes and swords, untill the rebell and all his family be slaine to their perpetuall ignominie and shame.

The Indie-writers make mention of sundry great cities in this Iland, as Cangoxima a haven towne in the South part thereof, and Meaco distant from thence three hundred leagues northward, the royall seat of the king and most wealthy of all other townes in that Iland. The people thereabout are very noble, and their language the best Japonish. In Meaco are sayd to be ninetie thousande houses inhabited and upward, a famous Universitie, and in it five principall Colleges, besides closes & cloysters of Bonzi, Leguixil, and Hamacata, that is, Priests, Monks and Nunnes. Other five notable Universities there be in Japan, namely, Coia, Negru, Homi, Frenoi, and Bandu. The first foure have in them at the least three thousand & five hundred schollers : in the fift are many mo. For Bandu province is very great and possessed with sixe princes, five whereof are vassals unto the sixth, yet he himselfe subject unto the Japonish king, usually



called the great king of Meaco: lesser scholes there be many in divers places of this Ilande. And thus much specially concerning this glorious Iland, among so many barbarous nations and rude regions, have I gathered together in one summe, out of sundry letters written from thence into Europe, by no lesse faithfull reporters than famous travellers. For confirmation wherof, as also for the knowledge of other things not conteyned in the premisses, the curious readers may peruse these 4 volumes of Indian matters written long ago in Italian, and of late compendiously made latine, by Petrus Maffei<sup>us</sup> my olde acquainted friend, entituling the same, *De rebus Japonicis*. One whole letter out of the fift booke thereof, specially intreating of that countrey, I have done into English word for word in such wise as followeth.

Aloisius Froes to his companions in Jesus Christ that remaine in China and India.

THE last yeere, deare brethren, I wrote unto you from Firando, how Cosmus Turrianus had appointed me to travaile to Meaco to helpe Gaspar Vilela, for that there the harvest was great, the labourers few, and that I should have for my companion in that journey Aloisius Almeida. It seemeth now my part, having by the helpe of God ended so long a voiage, to signifie unto you by letter such things specially as I might thinke you would most delight to know. And because at the beginning Almeida and I so parted the whole labour of writing letters betwixt us, that he should speake of our voyage, and such things as happened therein, I should make relation of the Meachians estate, & write what I could well learne of the Japans maners and conditions: setting aside all discourses of our voyage, that which standeth me upon I will discharge in this Epistle, that you considering how artificially, how cunningly, under the pretext of religion, that craftie adversary of mankind leadeth and draweth unto perdition the Japanish mindes, blinded with many superstitions and ceremonies, may the more pitie this Nation.

The inhabiteurs of Japan, as men that never had greatly to doe with other Nations, in their Geography divided the whole world into three parts, Japan, Sian, and China. And albeit the Japans received out of Sian and China their superstitions and ceremonies, yet do they neverthe-

lesse contemne all other nations in comparison of themselves, and standing in their owne conceite doe far preferre themselves before all other sorts of people in wisdom and policie.

Touching the situation of the countrey and nature of the soyle, unto the things eftsoones erst written, this one thing I wil adde: in these Ilands, the sommer to be most hot, the winter extreme cold. In the kingdome of Canga, as we call it, falleth so much snow, that the houses being buried in it, the inhabitants keepe within doores certaine moneths of the yeere, having no way to come forth except they breake up the tiles. Whirlewindes most vehement, earthquakes so common, that the Japans dread such kind of feares litle or nothing at all. The countrey is ful of silver mines otherwise barren, not so much by fault of nature, as through the slouthfulnesse of the inhabitants: howbeit Oxen they keepe and that for tillage sake onely. The ayre is holesome, the waters good, the people very faire and well bodied: bare headed commonly they goe, procuring baldnesse with sorrow and teares, eftsoones rooting up with pinsars all the haire of their heads as it groweth, except it be a litle behind, the which they knot and keepe with all diligence. Even from their childhood they weare daggers and swords, the which they use to lay under their pillowes when they goe to bed: in shew courteous and affable, in deede haughtie and proud. They delight most in warlike affaires, and their greatest studie is armes. Mens apparel diversely coloured is worne downe halfe the legges and to the elbowes: womens attyre made hansomely like unto a vaile, is somewhat longer: all manner of dicing and theft they doe eschue. The marchant, although he be wealthy, is not accounted of. Gentlemen, be they never so poore, retaine their place: most precisely they stande upon their honour and woorthinesse, ceremoniously striving among themselves in courtesies and faire speeches. Wherein if any one happily be lesse carefull than he should be, even for a trifle many times he getteth evill will. Want, though it trouble most of them, so much they doe detest, that poore men cruelly taking pittie of their infantes newly borne, especially girles, do many times with their owne feete strangle them. Noble men, and other likewise of meaner calling generally have but one wife a peece, by whom although they have issue, yet for a

trifle they divorce themselves from their wives, and the wives also sometimes from their husbands, to marry with others. After the second degree cousins may there lawfully marry. Adoption of other mens children is much used among them. In great townes most men and women can write and reade.

This Nation feedeth sparingly, their usuall meat is rice and salets, and neere the sea side fish. They feast one another many times, wherein they use great diligence, especially in drinking one to another, insomuch that the better sort, least they might rudely commit some fault therein, doe use to reade certaine bookes written of duties and ceremonies apperteyning unto banquets. To be delicate and fine, they put their meate into their mouthes with litle forkes, accounting it great rudenesse to touch it with their fingers: winter & sommer they drinke water as hot as they may possibly abide it. Their houses are in danger of fire, but finely made and cleane, layde all over with strawe-pallets, whereupon they doe both sit in stead of stooles, and lie in their clothes with billets under their heads. For feare of defiling these pallets, they goe either barefoote within doores, or weare strawe pantofles on their buskins when they come abroad, the which they lay aside at their returne home againe. Gentlemen for the most part do passe the night in banketting, musicke, & vaine discourses, they sleepe the day time. In Meaco and Sacaio there is good store of beds, but they be very litle, and may be compared unto our pues.

In bringing up their children they use words only to rebuke them, admonishing as diligently and advisedly boyes of sixe or seven yeeres of age, as though they were olde men. They are given very much to intertaine strangers, of whom most curiously they love to aske even in trifles what forraine nations doe, and their fashions. Such arguments and reasons as be manifest, and are made plaine with examples, doe greatly persuade them. They detest all kinde of theft, whosoever is taken in that fault may be slaine freely of any bodie. No publike prisons, no common gayles, no ordinary Justicers: privately each housholder hath the hearing of matters at home in his owne house, and the punishing of greater crimes that deserve death without delay. Thus usually the people is kept in awe and feare.

About foure hundred yeeres past (as in their olde recordes we finde) all Japan was subject unto one Emperour whose royall seat was Meaco, in the Japonish language called Cubucama. But the nobilitie rebelling against him, by litle and litle have taken away the greatest part of his dominion, howbeit his title continually remaineth, and the residue in some respect doe make great account of him still, acknowledging him for their superior. Thus the Empyre of Japan, in times past but one alone, is now divided into sixtie sixe kingdomes, the onely cause of civill warres continually in that Iland, to no small hinderance of the Gospell, whilst the kings that dwell neare together invade one another, each one coveting to make his kingdome greater. Furthermore in the citie Meaco is the pallace of the high Priest, whom that nation honoureth as a God, he hath in his house 366 Idoles, one whereof by course is every night set by his side for a watchman. He is thought of the common people so holy, that it may not be lawfull for him to goe upon the earth: if happily he doe set one foote to the ground, he looseth his office. He is not served very sumptuously he is maintained by almes. The heads and beards of his ministers are shaven, they have name Cangues, and their authoritie is great throughout all Japan. The Cubucama useth them for Embassadors to decide controversies betwixt princes and to end their warres, whereof they were wont to make very great gaine. It is now two yeres since or there about, that one of them came to Bungo, to intreate of peace betwixt the king thereof and the king of Amanguzzo. This Agent favouring the king of Bungo his cause more then the other, brought to passe that the foresayd king of Bungo should keepe two kingdomes, the which he had taken in warres from the king of Amanguzzo. Wherefore he had for his reward of the king of Bungo above 30000 ducats. And thus farre hereof.

I come now to other superstitions and ceremonies, that you may see, deare brethren, that which I said in the beginning, how subtilly the devill hath deceived the Japonish nation, and how diligent and readie they be to obey & worship him. And first, al remembrance and knowledge not onely of Christ our Redeemer, but also of that one God the maker of all things is cleane extinguished and utterly abolished out of the Japans hearts.

Moreover their superstitious sects are many, whereas it is lawfull for each one to follow that which liketh him best : but the principall sects are two, namely the Amidans and Xacaians. Wherefore in this countrey shall you see many monasteries, not onely of Bonzii men, but also of Bonziæ women diversly attired, for some doe weare white under, and blacke upper garments, other goe appparelled in ash colour, and their Idole hath to name Denichi: from these the Amidanes differ very much. Againe the men Bonzii for the most part dwell in sumptuous houses, and have great revenues. These fellowes are chaste by commaundement, marry they may not upon paine of death. In the midst of their Temple is erected an altar, whereon standeth a wooden Idole of Amida, naked from the girdle upward, with holes in his eares after the manner of Italian gentlewomen, sitting on a wooden rose goodly to behold. They have great libraries, and halles for them all to dine and sup together, and bells wherwith they are at certaine houres called to prayers. In the evening the Superintendent giveth each one a theame for meditation. After midnight before the altar in their Temple they do say Mattens as it were out of Xaca his last booke, one quier one verse, the other quier an other. Early in the morning each one giveth himselfe to meditation one houre: they shave their heads and beards. Their cloysters be very large, and within the precinct therof, Chappels of the Fotoquiens, for by that name some of the Japanish Saints are called: their holydaies yeerely be very many. Most of these Bonzii be gentlemen, for that the Japanish nobility charged with many children, use to make most of them Bonzii, not being able to leave for each one a patrimony good enough. The Bonzii most covetously bent, know all the wayes how to come by money. They sell unto the people many scrolles of paper, by the helpe whereof the common people thinketh it selfe warranted from all power of the devils. They borrow likewise money to be repayed with great usury in an other worlde, giving by obligation unto the lender an assurance thereof, the which departing out of this life he may carry with him to hell.

There is another great company of such as are called Inambuxu, with curled and staring haire. They make profession to finde out againe things either lost or stolen, after this sort. They set before them a child whom the

devill invadeth, called up thither by charmes: of that child then doe they aske that which they are desirous to know.

These mens prayers both good and bad are thought greatly to prevaile, insomuch that both their blessings and their curses they sell unto the people. The novices of this order, before they be admitted, goe together two or three thousand in a company, up a certaine high mountaine to doe pennance there, threescore dayes voluntarily punishing themselves. In this time the devill sheweth himselfe unto them in sundry shapes: and they like young graduats, admitted as it were fellowes into some certaine companie, are set foorth with white tassels hanging about their neckes, and blacke Bonnets that scarcely cover any more then the crowne of their heads. Thus attyred they range abroad in all Japan, to set out themselves and their cunning to sale, each one beating his bason which he carieth alwayes about with him, to give notice of their comming in al townes where they passe.

There is also an other sort called Genguis, that make profession to shewe by soothsaying where stollen things are, and who were the theeves. These dwell in the toppe of an high mountaine, blacke in the face: for the continuall heate of the sunne, for the cold windes, and raines they doe continually endure. They marry but in their owne tribe and line: the report goeth that they be horned beasts. They climbe up most high rockes and hilles, and go over very great rivers by the onely arte of the devill, who to bring those wretches the more into errour, biddeth them to goe up a certaine high mountaine, where they stande miserably gazing and earnestly looking for him as long as the devill appointeth them. At the length at nonetide or in the evening commeth that devil, whom they call Amida among them to shew himselfe unto them: this shew breedeth in the braines and hearts of men such a kinde of superstition, that it can by no meanes be rooted out of them afterward.

The devill was wont also in another mountaine to shew himselfe unto the Japanish Nation. Who so was more desirous than other to go to heaven and to enjoy Paradise, thither went he to see that sight, and having seene the devill followed him (so by the devill perswaded) into a denne untill he came to a deepe pit. Into this pit the



devill was wont to leape, and to take with him his worshipper whom he there mured. This deceit was thus perceived. An olde man blinded with this superstition, was by his sonne dissuaded from thence, but all in vaine. Wherefore his sonne followed him privily into that denne with his bow & arrows, where the devill gallantly appeared unto him in the shape of a man. Whilest the old man falleth downe to worshippinge the devill, his sonne speedily shooting an arrow at the spirit so appearing, strooke a Foxe in stead of a man, so suddenly was that shape altered. This olde man his sonne tracking the Foxe so running away, came to that pit whereof I spake, and in the bottome thereof he found many bones of dead men, deceived by the devill after that sort. in time past. Thus delivered he his father from present death, and all other from so pestilent an opinion.

There is furthermore a place bearing name Coia, very famous for ye multitude of Abbyes which the Bonzii have therein. The beginner and founder whereof is thought to be one Combendaxis a suttile craftie fellowe, that got the name of holinesse by cunning speech, although the lawes and ordinances he made were altogether devillish: he is said to have found out the Japanish letters used at this day. In his latter yeeres this Sim suttile buried himselfe in a fouresquare grave, foure cubites deepe, severely forbidding it to be opened, for that then he died not, but rested his bodie wearied with continuall businesse, untill many thousand thousands of yeeres were passed, after the which time a great learned man named Mirozu should come into Japan, and then would he rise up out of his grave againe. About his tombe many lampes are lighted, sent thither out of diverse provinces, for that the people are perswaded that whosoever is liberall and beneficiall towards the beautifying of that monument shall not onely increase in wealth in this world, but in the life to come be safe through Combendaxis helpe. Such as give themselves to worship him, live in those Monasteries or Abbyes with shaven heads, as though they had forsaken all secular matters, whereas in deede they wallow in all sortes of wickednesse and lust. In these houses, the which are many (as I sayd) in number, doe remaine 6000 Bonzii, or thereabout besides the multitude of lay men, women be restrained from thence upon paine of death. Another company of Bonzii

dwelleth at Fatonochaiti. They teach a great multitude of children all tricks & sleights of guile & theft: whom they do find to be of great towardnes, those do they instruct in al the petigrues of princes, and fashions of the nobilitie, in chivalrie and eloquence, and so send them abroad into other provinces, attired like yong princes, to this ende, that faining themselves to be nobly borne, they may with great summes of money borrowed under the colour and pretence of nobilitie returne againe. Wherefore this place is so infamous in all Japan, that if any scholer of that order be happily taken abroad, he incontinently dieth for it. Neverthesse these cousins leave not daily to use their woonted wickednesse and knaverie.

North from Japan, three hundred leagues out of Meaco, lieth a great countrey of savage men clothed in beasts skinnies, rough bodied, with huge beards and monstrous muchaches, the which they hold up with litle forkes as they drinke. These people are great drinkers of wine, fierce in warres, and much feared of the Japans: being hurt in fight, they wash their wounds with salt water, other Surgerie have they none. In their breasts they are sayd to cary looking glasses: their swordes they tie to their heads, in such wise, that the handle doe rest upon their shoulders. Service and ceremonies have they none at all, onely they are woont to worship heaven. To Aquita a great towne in that Japonish kingdom, which we call Gevano, they much resort for marchandise, and the Aquitanes likewise doe travell into their countrey, howbeit not often, for that there many of them are slaine by the inhabitants.

Much more concerning this matter I had to write: but to avoyd tediousnesse I will come to speake of the Japans madnesse againe, who most desirous of vaine glory doe thinke then specially to get immortall fame, when they procure themselves to be most sumptuously and solemnly buried: their burials and obsequies in the citie Meaco are done after this maner. About one houre before the dead body be brought foorth, a great multitude of his friends apparelled in their best aray goe before unto the fire, with them goe their kinswomen and such as bee of their acquaintance, clothed in white (for that is the mourning colour there) with a changeable coloured vaile on their heads. Each woman hath with her also, according to her abilitie, all her familie trimmed up in white

mockado: the better sort and wealthier women goe in litters of Cedar artificially wrought and richly dressed. In the second place marcheth a great company of foote-men sumptuously appparelled. Then afarre off commeth one of these Bonzii master of the ceremonies for that superstition, bravely clad in silkes and gold, in a large and high litter excellently well wrought, accompanied with 30 other Bonzii or thereabout, wearing hats, linnen albes, and fine blacke upper garments. Then attired in ashe colour (for this colour also is mourning) with a long torch of Pineapple, he sheweth the dead body the way unto the fire, lest it either stumble or ignorantly go out of the way. Well neere 200 Bonzii folow him singing the name of that devill the which the partie deceased chiefly did worship in his life time, and therewithall a very great bason is beaten even to the place of fire in stead of a bell. Then follow two great paper baskets hanged open at staves endes full of paper roses diversly coloured, such as beare them doe march but slowly, shaking ever now and then their staves, that the aforesayd flowers may fall downe by litle and litle as it were drops of raine: and be whirled about with wind. This shower say they is an argument that the soule of the dead man is gone to paradise. After al this, eight beardles Bonzii orderly two and two drag after them on the ground long speares, the points backward, with flags of one cubite a piece, wherein the name also of that idole is written. Then there be caried 10 lanterns trimmed with the former inscription, overcast with a fine vaile, and candles burning in them. Besides this, two yoong men clothed in ashe colour beare pineapple torches, not lighted, of three foote length, the which torches serve to kindle the fire wherein the dead corpes is to bee burnt. In the same colour follow many other that weare on the crownes of their heads faire, litle, threesquare, blacke lethren caps tied fast under their chinnes (for that is honorable amongst them) with papers on their heads, wherein the name of the devill I spake of, is written. And to make it the more solemne, after commeth a man with a table one cubite long, one foot broad, covered with a very fine white vaile, in both sides whereof is written in golden letters the aforesayd name. At the length by foure men is brought foorth the corps sitting in a gorgeous litter clothed in white, hanging downe his head and holding

his hands together like one that prayed: to the rest of his apparell may you adde an upper gowne of paper, written full of that booke the which his God is sayd to have made, when he lived in the world, by whose helpe and merites commonly they doe thinke to be saved. The dead man his children come next after him most gallantly set foorth, the yongest wherof carieth likewise a pineapple torch to kindle the fire. Last of all foloweth a great number of people in such caps as I erst spake of.

When they are al come to ye place appointed for the obsequie, al the Bonzii w<sup>t</sup> the whole multitude for the space of one houre, beating pannes and basons with great clamours, call upon the name of that devill, the which being ended, the Obsequie is done in this maner. In the midst of a great quadrangle railed about, hanged with course linnen, and agreeably unto the foure partes of the world made with foure gates to goe in and out at, is digged a hole: in the hole is laied good store of wood, whereon is raised gallantly a waved roofe: before that stand two tables furnished with divers kindes of meates, especially drie Figs, Pomegranates and Tartes good store, but neither Fish nor Flesh: upon one of them standeth also a chafer with coales, and in it sweete wood to make perfumes. When all this is readie, the corde wherewith the litter was caried, is throwen by a long rope into the fire: as many as are present strive to take the rope in their handes, using their aforesayd clamours, which done, they goe in procession as it were round about the quadrangle thrise. Then setting the litter on the wood built up ready for the fire that Bonzius who then is master of the ceremonies, saieth a verse that no bodie there understandeth, whirling thrise about over his head a torch lighted, to signifie thereby that the soule of the dead man had neither any beginning, ne shall have at any time an ende, and throweth away the torch. Two of the dead man his children, or of his neere kinne, take it up againe, and standing one at the East side of the litter, the other at the West, doe for honour and reverence reach it to each other thrise over the dead corps, and so cast it into the pile of wood: by and by they throw in oyle, sweete wood, and other perfumes, accordingly as they have plentie, and so with a great flame bring the corpses to ashes: his children in the meane while putting sweete wood into the chafer at the table with odours, doe

solemnly and religiously worship their father as a Saint : which being done, the Bonzii are paied each one in his degree. The master of the ceremonies hath for his part five duckats, sometimes tenne, sometimes twentie, the rest have tenne Julies a piece, or els a certaine number of other presents called Caxæ. The meate that was ordained, as soone as the dead corps friends and all the Bonzii are gone, is left for such as served at the obsequie, for the poore and impotent lazars.

The next day returne to the place of obsequie the dead man his children, his kinred and friends, who gathering up his ashes, bones, and teeth, doe put them in a gilded pot, and so carie them home, to bee set up in the same pot covered with cloth, in the midst of their houses. Many Bonzii returne likewise to these private funerals, and so doe they againe the seventh day : then cary they out the ashes to bee buried in a place appointed, laying thereupon a fouresquare stone, wherein is written in great letters drawen all the length of the stone, the name of that devil the which the dead man worshipped in his life time. Every day afterward his children resort unto the grave with roses and warme water that the dead corps thirst not. Nor the seventh day onely, but the seventh moneth and yeere, within their owne houses they renew this obsequie, to no small commodities and gaine of the Bonzii : great rich men doe spend in these their funerals 3000 duckats or thereabout, the meaner sort two or three hundred. Such as for povertie be not able to go to that charges, are in the night time darkelong without all pompe and ceremonies buried in a dunghill.

They have another kinde of buriall, especially neere the Sea side, for them that bee not yet dead. These fellows are such, as having religiously with much devotion worshipped Amida, now desirous to see him, doe slay themselves. And first they goe certaine dayes begging almes, the which they thrust into their sleeves, then preach they in publique a sermon unto the people, declaring what they mind to doe, with the great good liking of all such as doe heare them : for every body wondreth at such a kinde of holinesse. Then take they hookes to cut downe briars and thornes that might hinder them in their way to heaven, and so embarke themselves in a new vessell, tying great stones about their neckes, armes, loines, thighes, and feete : thus they launching out into the maine

Sea be either drowned there, their shippe bouged for that purpose, or els doe cast themselves over-boord headlong into the Sea. The emptie barke is out of hand set a fire for honours sake by their friends that folow them in another boat of their owne, thinking it blasphemie that any mortall creature should afterward once touch the barke that had bene so religiously halowed.

Truly when we went to Meaco, eight dayes before we came to the Ile of Hiu at Fore towne, sixe men and two women so died. To all such as die so the people erecteth a Chappell, and to each of them a pillar and a pole made of Pineapple for a perpetuall monument, hanging up many shreds of paper in stickes all the rooffe over, with many verses set downe in the walles in commendation of that blessed company. Wherefore unto this place both day and night many come very superstitiously in pilgrimage. It happened even then as Aloisius Almeida and I went to christen a childe wee traueiled that way at what time foure or five olde women came foorth out of the aforesayd chappell with beades in their handes (for in this point also the devill counterfaiteth Christianitie) who partly scorned at us for follie, partly frowned and taunted at our small devotion, for passing by that holy monument without any reverence or worship done thereunto at all.

It remaineth now, we speake two or three wordes of those Sermons the Bonzii are woont to make, not so many as ours in number, but assuredly very well provided for. The Pulpit is erected in a great temple with a silke Canopie over it, therein standeth a costly seate, before the seate a table with a bell and a booke. At the houre of Sermon each sect of the Japans resorteth to their owne doctors in divers Temples. Up goeth the doctor into the Pulpit, and being set downe, after that hee hath lordlike looked him about, signifieth silence with his bell, and so readeth a fewe wordes of that booke we spake of, the which he expoundeth afterward more at large. These preachers be for the most part eloquent, and apt to drawe with their speach the mindes of their hearers. Wherefore to this ende chieflie (such is their greedinesse) tendeth all their talke, that the people bee brought under the colour of godlinesse to enrich their monasteries, promising to each one so much the more happinesse in the life to come, how much the greater costes and charges they bee at in Church matters and obsequies: notwith-



standing this multitude of superstitious Sects and companies, and the diversities thereof amongst themselves: yet in this principally all their Superintendents doe travell so to perswade their Novices in their owne tales and lies, that they thinke nothing els trueth, nothing els sure to come by everlasting salvation, nothing els woorth the hearing. Whereunto they adde other subtleties, as in going gravitie, in countenance, apparell, and in all outward shew, comelinesse. Whereby the Japans mindes are so noused in wicked opinions, & doe conceive thereby such trust and hope of everlasting salvation, that not onely at home, but also abroad in every corner of the towne continually almost they run over their beades, humbly asking of Amida and Xaca, wealth, honour, good health, and everlasting joyes. Thus then, deare brethren, may you thinke how greatly they need the helpe of God, that either doe bring the Gospell into this countrey, or receiving it brought unto them, doe forsake idolatrie and joine themselves with Christ, being assaulted by so many snares of the devill, troubled with the daily dissuasions of their Bonzii, and finally, so injuriously, so hardly, so sharply vexed of their kinred and friends, that except the grace of God obtained by the sacrifices and prayers of the Catholique church doe helpe us, it cannot be chosen but that the faith and constancie of many, if not of all, in these first beginnings of our churches, will greatly be put in jeopardie. So much the more it standeth you upon that so earnestly long for the health of soules, to commend specially these Japanish flocks unto our Lord.

We came to Sacao the eight and twentie day of January: Aloisius Almeida first for businesse, but afterward let by sicknesse, staid there some while, but I parting the next day from thence came thirteene leagues off to Meaco the last of Januarie. Of my comming all the Christians tooke great comfort, but specially Gaspar Vilela who in 6 yeres had seen none of our companie at Meaco: his yeeres are not yet fortie, but his gray haire shew him to be seventie, so vehemently is his litle body afflicted and worne with extreme cold. Hee speaketh Japanish so skilfully after the phrase of Meaco (the which for the renowne of this people and royal seat of the king is best accounted of) that hee doeth both confesse and preach in that language. Certaine godly bookes also he hath done into that speach, not omitting to translate other

as laisure suffreth him. To make an ende, our Lord for his goodnesse vouchsafe to preserve us all continually, and to give us ayde both rightly to interprete his will, and well to doe the same. From Meaco the 19 of February 1565.

Other such like matter is handled both in other his letters, and also in the Epistles written by his companions to be scene at large in the aforesaid volume. Amongst the rest this seemed in my judgement one of the principall, and therefore the rather I tooke upon me to do it into English.

Of the Iles beyond Japan in the way from China to the Moluccas.

AMONGST other Iles in the Asian sea betwixt Cantan a Chinish haven in Cathaio & the Moluccas, much spoken of in the Indian histories and painted out in Maps, Ainan and Santianum are very famous. Ainan standeth 19 degrees on this side of the Equinoctiall line nere China, from whence the Chinish nation hath their provision for shipping and other necessities requisite for their Navie. There staid Balthasar Gagus a great traveiler 5 moneths, who describeth that place after this maner. Ainan is a goodly countréy ful of Indian fruits & all kind of victuals, besides great store of jewels and pearle, well inhabited, the townes built of stone, the people rude in conditions, apparelled in divers coloured rugs, with two oxe hornes, as it were, made of fine cypres hanging downe about their eares, and a paire of sharpe cyzers at their foreheads.

The cause wherefore they go in such attire I could not understand, except it bee for that they do counterfeit the devil in the forme of a brute beast, offering themselves up to him.

Santianum is an Ile neere unto the haven Cantan in the confines likewise of China, famous for the death of that woorthy traveiler and godly professour and painfull doctor of the Indian nation in matters concerning religion, Francis Xavier, who after great labours, many injuries, and calamities infinite suffred with much patience, singular joy and gladnesse of mind, departed in a cabben made of bowes and rushes upon a desert mountaine, no lesse voyd of all worldly commodities, then endued with all spirituall blessings, out of this life, the 2 day of December, the yeere of our Lord 1552. after that many thousand of these

Easterlings were brought by him to the knowledge of Christ. Of this holy man, his particular vertues, and specially travell, and wonderfull works in that region, of other many litle Iles (yet not so litle, but they may right wel be written of at laisure) all the latter histories of the Indian regions are full.

An excellent treatise of the kingdome of China, and of the estate and government thereof: Printed in Latine at Macao a citie of the Portugals in China, An. Dom. 1590. and written Dialogue-wise. The speakers are Linus, Leo, and Michael.

LINUS. Concerning the kingdome of China (Michael) which is our next neighbour, we have heard and daily do heare so many reports, that we are to request at your hands rather a true then a large discourse and narration thereof. And if there be ought in your knowledge besides that which by continual rumours is waxen stale among us, we will right gladly give diligent eare unto it.

MICHAEL. Because the report of this most famous kingdome is growen so common among us, reducing divers and manifold particulars into order, I will especially aime at the trueth of things received from the fathers of the societie, which even now at this present are conversant in China. First of all therefore it is not unknowen, that of all parts of the maine continent this kingdom of China is situate most Easterly: albeit certaine Ilands, as our native Japon, & the Ile of Manilia stand more Easterly then China it selfe. As touching the limites & bounds of this kingdom, we may appoint the first towards ye West to be a certaine Ile commonly called Hainan, which standeth in 19 degrees of Northerly latitude. For the continent next adjoining unto this Ile trendeth towardes the East, and that especially, where the promontorie of the citie called Nimpo or Liampo doeth extend it selfe. Howbeit, from that place declining Northward, it stretcheth foorth an huge length, insomuch that the farthest Chinian inhabitants that way doe behold the North pole elevated, at least 50 degrees, and perhaps more also: whereupon a man may easilie conjecture (that I may speake like an Astronomer) how large the latitude of this kingdom is, when as it containeth about more then 540 leagues in direct extension towards the North. But as concerning the longitude which is accounted from East

to West, it is not so exactly found out, that it may be distinguished into degrees. Howbeit certaine it is, that according to the Map wherein the people of China describe the forme of their kingdom, the latitude thereof doeth not much exceed ye longitude. This kingdom therefore is, without all peradventure, of all earthly kingdoms the most large and spacious: for albeit divers other kings under their jurisdiction containing in dimensions more length & breadth then all China, do possesse very many kingdoms & far distant asunder: yet none of them all enioieth any one kingdom so large and so ample, as the most puissant king of China doeth. Now, if we shall make enquirie into his revenues and tributes, true it is, that this king of all others, is endued with the greatest and the richest, both in regard of the fertilitie & greatnes of his dominions, & also by reason of the severe collection and exaction of his duties: yea, tributes are imposed upon his subjects, not onely for lands, houses, and impost of marchandise, but also for every person in each family. It is likewise to be understood, that almost no lord or potentate in China hath authoritie to levie unto himselfe any peculiar revenues, or to collect any rents within the precincts of his seigniories, al such power belonging onely unto the king: whereas in Europe the contrary is most commonly seen, as we have before signified. In this most large kingdom are contained 15 provinces, every one of which were in it selfe sufficient to be made one great kingdom. Six of these provinces do border upon the sea, namely (y<sup>t</sup> I may use the names of the Chinians themselves) Coantum, Foquien, Chequiam, Nanquin, Xantum, Paquin: the other 9 be in-land provinces, namely, Quiansi, Huquam, Honan, Xiensi, Xansi, Suchuon, Queicheu, Junan, Coansi. Amongst all the foresayd provinces, two are allotted for the kings court and seat roial, that is to say, Paquin for his court in the North, and Nanquin for his court in the South. For the kings of China were woont to be resident altogether at the South court: but afterward, by reason of the manifold and cruell warres mooved by the Tartars, they were constrained to defixe their princely seate and habitation in that extreme province of the North. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that those Northren confines of the kingdom doe abound with many moe fortresses, martiall engines, and garrisons of souldiers.

LEO. I have heard, amongst those munitions, a certaine strange and admirable wall reported of, wherewith the people of China doe repress and drive backe the Tartars attempting to invade their territories.

MICHAEL. Certes that wall which you have heard tell of is most woorthie of admiration; for it runneth alongst the borders of three Northerlie provinces, Xiensi, Xansi, and Paquin, and is sayd to containe almost three hundred leagues in length, and in such sort to bee built, that it hindereth not the courses and streames of any rivers, their chanel being overthwarted and fortified with wonderfull bridges and other defences. Yet is it not unlikely, that the sayd wall is built in such sort, that onely lowe and easie passages bee therewith stopped and environed; but the mountaines running betweene those lowe passages are, by their owne naturall strength, and inaccessible heigth, a sufficient fortification agaynst theemie.

LINUS. Tell us (Michael) whether the kingdome of China be so frequented with inhabitants, as wee have often bene informed, or no?

MICHAEL. It is (Linus) in very deed a most populous kingdom, as I have bene certified from the fathers of the societie: who having seene sundry provinces of Europe renoumed for the multitude of their inhabitants, doe notwithstanding greatly admire the infinite swarmes of people in China. Howbeit these multitudes are not pelmel and confusively dispersed over the land, but most conveniently and orderly distributed in their townes and famous cities: of which assemblies there are divers kindes among the Chinians. For they have certaine principal cities called by the name of Fu: other inferior cities called Cheu: and of a third kind also named Hien, which be indeed walled townes, but are not privileged with the dignities and prerogatives of cities. To these may be added two other kindes of lesser townes, which are partly villages, and partly garrisons of souldiers. Of the first and principall kind is that most noble citie standing neere unto the port of Macao, called by the Chinians Coanchefu, but by the Portugals commonly termed Cantam, which is rather the common name of the province, then a word of their proper imposition. Unto the third kind appertaineth a towne, which is yet nigher unto the port of Macao, called by the Portugals Ansam, but by the Chinians

Hiansanhien. Al the foresayd provinces therefore have their greater cities named Fu, & their lesser cities called Cheu, unto both of which the other townes may be added. Moreover, in every province there is a certain principal city which is called the Metropolitane thereof, wherein the chief magistrates have their place of residence, as the principal citie by me last mentioned, which is the head of the whole province called Coantum. The number of the greater cities throughout the whole kingdom is more then 150, and there is the same or rather a greater multitude of inferiour cities. Of walled townes not endued with the privileges of cities there are mo then 1120: the villages & garrisons can scarce be numbred: over & besides the which convents it is incredible what a number of countrie farmes or granges there be: for it is not easie to find any place desert or void of inhabitants in all that land. Now in the sea, in rivers, & in barks there are such abundance of people, and of whole families inhabiting, that even the Europæans themselves doe greatly wonder thereat: insomuch that some (albeit beyond measure) have bene perswaded that there are as many people dwelling upon the water as upon the land. Neither were they induced so to thinke altogether without probabilitie: for whereas the kingdom of China is in all parts thereof interfused with commodious rivers, & in many places consisteth of waters, barges & boats being every-where very common, it might easily bee supposed, that the number of watermen was equal unto the land-inhabitants. Howbeit, that is to be understood by amplification, whereas the cities do swarme so ful with citizens & the countrie with peasants.

LEO. The abundance of people which you tell us of seemeth very strange: whereupon I conjecture the soile to be fertile, the aire to be wholesome, and the whole kingdom to be at peace.

MICHAEL. You have (friend Leo) ful judicially conjectured those three: for they do all so excel, y<sup>t</sup> which of the three in this kingdom be more excellent, it is not easie to discerne. And hence it is that this common opinion hath bene rife among the Portugals, namely, that the kingdom of China was never visited with those three most heavy & sharpe scourges of mankind, warre, famine, & pestilence. But that opinion is more common then true: sithens there have bene most terrible intestine and



civile warres, as in many and most autenticall histories it is recorded: sithens also that some provinces of the sayd kingdom, even in these our dayes, have bene afflicted with pestilence and contagious diseases, and with famine. Howbeit, that the foresaid three benefits do mightily flourish and abound in China, it cannot be denied. For (that I may first speake of the salubritie of the aire) the fathers of the societie themselves are witnesses, that scarcely in any other realme there are so many found that live unto decrepite and extreme old age: so great a multitude is there of ancient and grave personages: neither doe they use so many confections and medicines, nor so manifold and sundry wayes of curing diseases, as wee saw accustomed in Europe. For amongst them they have no Phlebotomie or letting of blood: but all their cures, as ours also in Japon, are atchieved by fasting, decoctions of herbes, & light or gentle potions. But in this behalfe let every nation please themselves with their owne customes. Now, in fruitfulness of soile this kingdom certes doth excel, far surpassing all other kingdoms of the East: yet is it nothing comparable unto the plentie and abundance of Europe, as I have declared at large in the former treatises. But the kingdom of China is, in this regard, so highly extolled, because there is not any region in the East partes that aboundeth so with marchandise, and from whence so much traffique is sent abroad. For whereas this kingdome is most large & full of navigable rivers, so that commodities may easilie be conveyed out of one province into another: the Portugals doe find such abundance of wares within one and the same Citie, (which perhaps is the greatest Mart throughout the whole kingdome) that they are verily perswaded, that the same region, of all others, most aboundeth with marchandise: which notwithstanding is to be understood of the Orientall regions: albeit there are some kindes of marchandise, wherewith the land of China is better stored then any other kingdom. This region affordeth especially sundry kinds of mettals, of which the chiefe, both in excellencie & in abundance, is gold, whereof so many Pezoes are brought from China to India, and to our countrey of Japon, that I heard say, that in one and the same ship, this present yeere, 2000 such pieces consisting of massie gold, as the Portugals commonly call golden loaves, were brought unto us for

marchandise: and one of these loaves is worth almost 100 duckats. Hence it is that in the kingdom of China so many things are adorned with gold, as for example, beds, tables, pictures, images, litters wherein nice and daintie dames are caried upon their servaunts backs. Neither are these golden loaves onely bought by the Portugals, but also great plentie of gold-twine and leaves of gold: for the Chinians can very cunningly beate and extenuate gold into plates and leaves. There is also great store of silver, whereof (that I may omit other arguments) it is no small demonstration, that every yeere there are brought into the citie commonly called Cantam by the Portugal marchants to buie wares, at the least 400 Sestertium thereof, and yet nothing in a maner is conveyed out of the Chinian kingdom: because the people of China abounding with all necessities, are not greatly inquisitive or desirous of any marchandise from other kingdomes. I doe here omit the Silver mines whereof there are great numbers in China, albeit there is much circumspection used in digging the silver thereout: for the king standeth much in feare least it may bee an occasion to stirre up the covetous and greedie humour of many. Nowe their silver which they put to uses is for the most part passing fine, and purified from all drosse, and therefore in trying it they use great diligence. What should I speake of their iron, copper, lead, tinne, and other mettals, and also of their quick-silver? Of all which in the realme of China there is great abundance, and from thence they are transported into divers countreys. Hereunto may bee added the wonderfull store of pearles, which, at the Ile of Hainan, are found in shell-fishes taken very cunningly by certaine Divers, and doe much enlarge the kings revenues. But now let us proceed unto the Silke or Bombycine flecce, whereof there is great plentie in China: so that even as the husbandmen labour in manuring the earth, and in sowing of Rice; so likewise the women doe employ a great part of their time in preserving of silke-wormes, and in keeming and weaving of Silke. Hence it is that every yeere the King and Queene with great solemnitie come foorth into a publike place, the one of them touching a plough, and the other a Mulberie tree, with the leaves whereof Silke-wormes are nourished: and both of them by this ceremonie encouraging both men and women unto their vocation and labour: whereas

otherwise, all the whole yeere throughout, no man besides the principall magistrates, may once attaine to the sight of the king. Of this Silke or Bombycine fleece there is such abundance, that three shippes for the most part comming out of India to the port of Macao, & at the least one every yeere comming unto us, are laden especially with this freight, and it is used not onely in India, but caried even unto Portugal. Neither is the Fleet it selfe onely transported thence, but also divers & sundry stufes woven thereof, for the Chinians do greatly excel in the Art of weaving, and do very much resemble our weavers of Europe. Moreover the kingdom of China aboundeth with most costlie spices & odours, and especially with cynamom (albeit not comparable to the cynamom of Zeilan) with camphire also & muske, which is very principal & good. Muske deriveth his name from a beast of the same name (which beast resembleth a Bever) from the parts whereof brused & putrified proceedeth a most delicate & fragrant smel which the Portugals highly esteem, commonly calling those parts of the foresaid beasts (because they are like unto the gorges of foules) Papos, & convey great plenty of them into India, & to us of Japon. But who would beleewe, that there were so much gossipine or cotton-wool in China; whereof such variety of clothes are made like unto linnen; which we our selves do so often use, & which also is conveyed by sea into so many regions? Let us now intreat of that earthen or pliable matter commonly called porcellan, which is pure white, & is to be esteemed the best stufte of that kind in the whole world: wherof vessels of all kinds are very curiously framed. I say, it is the best earthen matter in all the world, for three qualities; namely, the cleannesse, the beauty, & the strength thereof. There is indeed other matter to be found more glorious, and more costly, but none so free from uncleannes, and so durable: this I adde, in regard of glasse, which indeed is immaculate and cleane, but may easily be broken in pieces. This matter is digged, not thorowout the whole region of China, but onely in one of the fifteene provinces called Quiansi, wherein continually very many artificers are imployed about the same matter: neither doe they onely frame thereof smaller vessels, as dishes, platters, salt-sellers, ewers, and such like, but also certaine huge

tunnes, and vessels of great quantity, being very finely and cunningly wrought, which, by reason of the danger and difficulty of carriage, are not transported out of the realme, but are used onely within it, and especially in the kings court. The beauty of this matter is much augmented by variety of picture, which is layed in certaine colours upon it, while it is yet new, golde also being added thereunto, which maketh the foresayd vessels to appeare most beautifull. It is wonderfull how highly the Portugals do esteeme thereof, seeing they do, with great difficulty, transport the same, not onely to us of Japon and into India, but also into sundry provinces of Europe. Unto the marchandize above-mentioned may be added divers and sundry plants, the rootes whereof be right wholesome for mens bodies, and very medicinable, which are brought unto our Iles of Japon, and unto many other Ilands, amongst the which that wood may be reckoned, which (by a synechdoche) is called The wood of China, being of notable force to expell out of mens bodies those humours, which would breed contagious diseases. To these you may adde sugar-canes (for in the realme of China there is great store of excellent sugar) which is conveyed by the Portugals very plentifully, both into our countrey, and also into Iudia. My speeches uttered immediatly before concerned marchandize onely, in regard whereof this kingdome is beneficiall not to itselfe alone, but most profitable to many other nations also. As for those fruits which pertain to yerely sustenance and common food, they can scarce be numbred; albeit, of those three commodities which they of Europe so greatly account of; namely of cornes, vines, and olives the land of China is not very capable: for the Chinians know not so much as the name of an Olive tree (out of the fruit whereof oile is expressed) neither yet the name of a vine. The province of Paquin is not altogether destitute of wine, but whether it be brought from other places, or there made, I am not able to say: although it aboundeth with many other, and those not unpleasant liquours, which may serve in the stead of wine it selfe. Now, as touching corne, there is indeed wheat sown in all the provinces, howbeit rise is in farre more use and request then it: and so in regard of these two commodities profitable for mans life; namely, wine and corne; the kingdome of China and our countrey of Japon may be compared together.

LEO. You have discoursed (Michael) of the fruitfulness of China, whereof I have often heard, that it is no lesse pleasant than fruitful, and I have bene especially induced so to thinke, at the sight of the Chinian maps.

MICHAEL. The thing it selfe agrees right well with the picture: for they that have seene the mediterranean or inner parts of the kingdome of China, do report it to be a most amiable countrey, adorned with plenty of woods, with abundance of fruits and grasse, and with woonderfull variety of rivers, wherewith the Chinian kingdome is watered like a garden; divers of which rivers doe naturally flowe, and others by arte and industry are derived into sundry places. But now I will intreat of the tranquillity and peace of China, after I have spoken a word or two concerning the maners of the inhabitants. This nation is indued with excellent wit and dexterity for the attaining of all artes, and, being very constant in their owne customes, they lightly regard the customes or fashions of other people. They use one and the same kinde of vesture, yet so, that there is some distinction betweene the apparell of the magistrate & of the common subject. They all of them do weare long haire upon their heads, and, after the maner of women, do curiously keame their dainty locks hanging downe to the ground, and, having twined and bound them up, they cover them with calles, wearing sundry caps thereupon, according to their age and condition. It seemeth that in olde time one language was common to all the provinces: notwithstanding, by reason of variety of pronounciation, it is very much altered, and is divided into sundry idiomes or proprieties of speech, according to the divers provinces: howbeit, among the magistrates, and in publike assemblies of judgement, there is one and the very same kinde of language used thorowout the whole realme, from the which (as I have sayd) the speech of ech province differeth not a little. Moreover this people is most loyall and obedient unto the king and his magistrates, which is the principall cause of their tranquillity & peace. For whereas the common sort doe apply themselves unto the discretion and becke of inferiour magistrates, and the inferiour magistrates of the superiour, and the superiour magistrates of the king himselfe, framing and composing all their actions and affaires unto that levell: a world it is to see, in what equability and indifferency of justice

all of them do leade their lives, and how orderly the publike lawes are administred. Which thing notwithstanding shall be handled more at large, when we come to intreat of the government.

LINUS. Tell us now (Michael) of the industry of that people, whereof we have heard great reports.

MICHAEL. Their industry is especially to be discerned in manuary artes and occupations, and therein the Chinians do surpasse most of these Easterly nations. For there are such a number of artificers ingeniously and cunningly framing sundry devices out of golde, silver, and other mettals, as likewise of stone, wood, and other matters convenient for mans use, that the streets of cities being replenished with their shops and fine workmanship, are very woonderfull to beholde. Besides whom also there are very many Painters, using either the pensill or the needle (of which the last sort are called Embrotherers) and others also that curiously worke golde-twine upon cloth either of linnen or of cotton: whose operations of all kinds are diligently conveyed by the Portugals into India. Their industry doth no lesse appeare in founding of gunnes and in making of gun-powder, whereof are made many rare and artificiall fire-works. To these may be added the arte of Printing, albeit their letters be in maner infinite and most difficult, the portraitures whereof they cut in wood or in brasse, and with marvellous facilitie they dayly publish huge multitudes of books. Unto these mechanicall & illiberall crafts you may adde two more; that is to say, navigation and discipline of warre; both of which have bene in ancient times most diligently practised by the inhabitants of China: for (as we have before signified in the third dialogue) the Chinians sailing even as farre as India, subdued some part therof unto their owne dominion: howbeit afterward, least they should diminish the forces of their realme by dispersing them into many provinces, altering their counsell, they determined to containe themselves within their owne limits: within which limits (as I have sayd) there were in olde time vehement and cruell warres, both betweene the people of China themselves, and also against the Tartarian king, who invaded their kingdome, and by himselfe and his successours, for a long season, usurped the government thereof. Howbeit the kings of the Tartarian race being worne out, and



their stocke and family being utterly abolished, the Chinians began to lift up their heads, and to advance themselves, injoying for these 200 yeeres last past exceeding peace and tranquillity, and at this day the posterity of the same king that expelled the Tartars, with great dignity weareth the crowne, and wieldeth the royall scepter. Albeit therefore the people of China (especially they that inhabit Southerly from the province of Paquin) are, for the most part, by reason of continuall ease and quiet, growen effeminate, and their courage is abated, notwithstanding they would proove notable and brave souldiers, if they joyned use and exercise unto their naturall fortitude. As a man may easily observe in them, that maintaine continuall warres against the most barbarous and cruel Tartars. Howbeit in this kingdome of China there is so great regard of military discipline, that no city nor towne there is destitute of a garison, the captaines and governours keeping ech man his order; which all of them, in every province, are subject unto the kings lieutenant generall for the warres, whom they call Chumpin, and yet he himselfe is subject unto the Tutan or viceroy. Let us now come unto that arte, which the Chinians do most of all professe, and which we may, not unfitly, call literature or learning. For although it be commonly reported, that many liberall sciences, and especially naturall and morall phylosophy are studied in China, and that they have Universities there, wherein such ingenuous artes are delivered and taught, yet, for the most part, this opinion is to be esteemed more popular then true: but I will declare, upon what occasion this conceit first grew. The people of China doe, above all things, professe the arte of literature; and learning it most diligently, they imploy themselves a long time and the better part of their age therein. For this cause, in all cities and townes, yea, and in pety villages also, there are certaine schole-masters hired for stipends to instruct children: and their literature being (as ours in Japon is also) in maner infinite, their children are put to schole even from their infancy and tender yeeres, from whence notwithstanding such are taken away, as are judged to be unfit for the same purpose, and are trained up to marchandise or to manuary sciences: but the residue do so dedicate themselves to the study of learning, that (a strange thing it is to consider) being conversant in

the principall books, they will easily tel you, if they be asked the question, how many letters be contained in every page, and where ech letter is placed. Now, for the greater progresse and increase of learning, they (as the maner is in Europe) do appoint three degrees to the attaining of noble sciences: that is to say, the lowest, the middle degree, and the highest. Graduates of the first degree are called Siusai, of the second Quiugin, and of the third Chinzu. And in ech city or walled towne there is a publike house called the Schoole, and unto that all they doe resort from all private and pety-schooles that are minded to obtaine the first degree; where they do amplifie a sentence or theame propounded unto them by some magistrate: and they, whose stile is more elegant and refined, are, in ech city, graced with the first degree. Of such as aspire unto the second degree triall is made onely in the metropolitan or principall city of the province, whereunto, they of the first degree, every third yere, have recourse, and, in one publike house or place of assembly, doe, the second time, make an oration of another sentence obscurer then the former, and doe undergo a more severe examination. Now, there is commonly such an huge multitude of people, that this last yere, in the foresayd famous city of Cantam, by reason of the incredible assembly of persons flocking to that publike act or commencement, at the first entrance of the doores, there were many troden under foot, and quelled to death, as we have bene most certainly informed. Moreover they that sue for the highest degree are subject unto a most severe and exact censure, whereby they are to be examined at the Kings Court onely, and that also every third yere next insuing the sayd yere wherein graduates of the second degree are elected in ech province, and, a certaine number being prescribed unto every particular province, they do ascend unto that highest pitch of dignity, which is in so great regard with the king himselfe, that the three principall graduates do, for honours sake, drinke off a cup filled even with the Kings owne hand, and are graced with other solemnities. Out of this order the chiefe magistrates are chosen: for after that they have attained unto this third degree, being a while trained up in the lawes of the realme, and in the precepts of urbanity, they are admitted unto divers functions. Neither are we to thinke that the Chinians

be altogether destitute of other artes. For, as touching morall philosophy, all those books are fraught with the precepts thereof, which, for their instructions sake, are alwayes conversant in the hands of the foresayd students, wherein such grave and pithy sentences are set downe, that, in men void of the light of the Gospell, more can not be desired. They have books also that intreat of things and causes naturall, but herein it is to be supposed, that aswell their books as ours do abound with errors. There be other books among them, that discourse of herbs and medicines, and others of chivalry and martiall affaires. Neither can I here omit, that certaine men of China (albeit they be but few, and rare to be found) are excellent in the knowledge of astronomy, by which knowledge of theirs the dayes of the new moone incident to every moneth are truely disposed and digested, and are committed to writing and published: besides, they doe most infallibly foretell the eclipses of the Sun and Moone: and whatsoever knowledge in this arte we of Japon have, it is derived from them.

LEO. We doe freely confesse that (Michael) sithens our books intreating of the same arte are, a great part of them, written in the characters or letters of China. But now, instruct you us as touching their maner of government, wherein the Chinians are sayd greatly to excell.

MICHAEL. That, that, in very deed, is their chiefe arte, and unto that all their learning and exercise of letters is directed. Whereas therefore, in the kingdome of China, one onely king beares rule over so many provinces, it is strange what a number of Magistrates are by him created to administer publique affaires. For (to omit them which in ech Towne and City have jurisdiction over the townesmen and citizens) there are three principall Magistrates in every province. The first is he that hath to deale in cases criminall, and is called Ganchasu: the second is the Kings Fosterer, and is called Puchinsu: the third is the Lieutenant-generall for the warres, named, as we sayd before, Chumpin. These three therefore have their place of residence in the chiefe City of the province: and the two former have certaine associates of their owne order, but of inferiour authority, appointed in divers Cities and Townes, unto whom, according to the variety of causes, the Governours of

Townes, and the Maiors of Cities doe appeale. Howbeit the three forenamed Magistrates are in subjection unto the Tutan, that is, the Vice-roy, ordained in ech province. And all these Magistrates beare office for the space of three yeeres together: yet so, that for the governing of ech province, not any of the same province, but strangers, that is, men of another province, are selected: whereof it commeth to passe, that the Judges may give sentence with a farre more entire and incorrupt minde, then if they were among their owne kinsefolke and allies. Over and besides all these, there is an annuall or yeerely Magistrate, which is called Chaïen, whose duety it is to make inquisition of all crimes, and especially the crimes of Magistrates, and also to punish common offences: but concerning the faults of the great magistrates to admonish the king himselfe. Of this order, every yere, are sent out of the Kings Court, for ech province, one; and going over all the Cities and Townes thereof, they do most diligently ransacke and serch out all crimes, and upon them which are imprisoned they inflict due punishment, or, being found not guilty, they dismisse them unpunished. Hence it is, that all Magistrates greatly fearing to be called in question by the Chaïen are well kept within the limits of their callings. Besides all these Magistrates there is at either Court, namely in the North, and in the South, a Senate or honourable assembly of grave counsellours, unto the which, out of all provinces, according to the neerenesse and distance of the place, affaires of greater weight and moment are referred, and by their authority divers Magistrates are created: howbeit the managing and expedition of principall affaires is committed unto the Senate of Paquin. Moreover there are every yeere certaine Magistrates appointed in ech province, to goe unto the king: and every third yeere all the Governours of Cities and of Townes do visit him at once, what time triall is made of them that aspire unto the third degree: upon which occasion there is at the same time an incredible number of people at the Kings Court. By reason of this excellent order and harmony of Magistrates placed one under another, it can scarce be imagined, what sweet peace and tranquility flourisheth thorowout the whole realme, especially sithens, after speedy inquisition, persons that are guilty be put (as the maner is there) to the punishment of the bas-

tonado: neither yet are suits or actions any long time delayed. Also it is not to be omitted, that for the obtaining of any dignity or magistracy, the way is open, without all respect of gentry or blood, unto all men, if they be learned, and especially if they have attained unto the third and highest degree aforesayd. Neither can it be expressed how obedient and dunctifull the common sort are unto their Magistrates, and with what magnificence and pompe the sayd Magistrates come abroad: for the most part of them have fiftie or threescore Sergeants attending upon them, and going before them, two and two in a ranke: some of them carrying Halberds, Maces, and Battle-axes: some trailing yron chaines upon the ground: others holding great roddes or staves of a certaine kinde of reede, wherewith malefactours are punished, in their hands: and two there are that carry, inclosed in a case, the Kings seale peculiar for ech office: and many others also, that shew sundry spectacles unto the people: whereunto may be added the horrible outcries and showtes, which betweene whiles they utter, to strike a terrour into the hearts of all men: and at length come the Magistrates themselves, being carried in a throne upon the backs of foure men, sixe men, or eight men, according to the dignity of their office. Now, as concerning their houses, they are very large and stately, being built and furnished with all necessary stuffe, at the Kings owne cost, in the which, so long as their magistracy lasteth, they leade a brave and an honourable life. The sayd houses are without variety of stories one above another, which in the kingdome of China and in our Iles of Japon also are not ordinarily used for habitation, but either to keepe watch and ward, or els for solace and recreations sake (for the which purposes, eight most lofty turrets of nine stories high are built) or els for the defence of Cities. Howbeit in other regards these buildings doe shew foorth no small magnificence: for they have their cisternes for the receipt of raine-water, which are adorned with beautifull trees, set in order, round about them: and they have also their places designed for the administration of justice, and divers other convenient roomes to bestow their wives and families in. Within the doores of the foresayd habitations a certaine number of Sergeants and officers, having cabbins or little houses allotted them on both sides, doe alwayes give their attendance; and

so long as matters of judgement are in deciding, they be alwayes ready at hand, that, at the direction of the Magistrates they may either beat malefactours, or by torments constraine them to tell the trueth. The sayd Magistrates also have their peculiar barges wherein to take the water; being in breadth and length not much unlike to the galleys of Europe, but for swiftnesse and multitude of oares, farre inferiour unto them. The rowers, sitting upon galleries without the hatches or compasse of the barge, doe moove it on forward with their oares: whereupon it commeth to passe, that the middle part of the barge affoordeth sufficient roome for the Magistrates themselves to abide in, containing chambers therein almost as convenient and handsome, as in any of their foresayd publique houses, together with butteries and kitchens, and such other places necessary for the provision and stowage of victuals.

LEO. All these things agree right well with the reports, which we have heard of the stately and renowned kingdome of China: I would now right gladly know somewhat concerning the order which is observed in the obtaining of magistracies.

MICHAEL. You have enquired of a matter most woorthy to be knowen, which I had almost omitted to entreat of. The Chinians therefore doe use a kinde of gradation in advancing men unto sundry places of authority, which for the most part is performed by the Senatours of Paquin. For first they are made Judges of Townes: then of Cities: afterward they are elected to be of that order, which decreeth punishments in cases criminall without further appeale, or of their order, that are the kings fosterers. And in both of these Orders, which are very honourable, there are many places and degrees, so that from the inferiour place they must ascend unto the superiour, untill they have attained unto the highest dignity of all: and immediatly after that they come to be Vice-royes. Howbeit this gradation is not alwayes accomplished in one and the same province, but in changing their offices they change places and provinces also. Moreover, next after the office of Vice-roy they are capable to be chosen Senatours of Nanquin, and last of all to be elected into the Senate of Paquin. Now, there is such an order and methode observed in the ascending unto these dignities, that all men may easily conjecture,



what office any one is to undertake. And there is so great diligence and celerity used for the substitution of one into the roome of another, that, for the same purpose, messengers are dispatched by land, upon swift post-horses, unto divers provinces, almost twenty dayes journey from the Kings Court. And, to be short, there is such district severity in degrading those that unjustly or negligently demeane themselves, from an honourable unto an inferiour and base office, or altogether in depriving them of the kings authority: that all Magistrates doe stand in feare of nothing in the world more then of that. The same order, almost, is observed among the Captaines and Lieu-tenants generall for the warres: except onely in them, that their birth and offspring is respected: for many there be, who descending by parentage from such men as have in times past atchieved brave exploits in warfare, so soone as they come to sufficient yeeres, are created Centurions, Colonels, and Governours, untill at last they attaine to be Lieu-tenants generall and Protectours of some whole province: who notwithstanding (as I have sayd) are in all things subject unto the Viceroy. All the foresayd Magistrates both of warre and of peace have a set number of attendants allotted unto them, enjoying a stipend, and carying certaine ensignes and peculiar badges of their office: and (besides the ordinary watch, which souldiers appointed for the same purpose doe in the night season, after the City gates be shut, keepe in their forts) wheresoever any Magistrate is, either at his house or in his barge, the sayd attendants striking upon a cymball of brasse, at certaine appointed times, do keepe most circumspect and continuall watch and ward about his person.

LINUS. You have (Michael) sufficiently discoursed of the Magistrates: informe us now of the king himselfe, whose name is so renowned and spread abroad.

MICHAEL. Concerning this matter I will say so much onely as by certaine rumours hath come to my knowledge: for of matters appertaining unto the kings Court we have no eye-witnesses, sithens the fathers of the society have not as yet proceeded unto Paquin, who so soone as (by Gods assistance) they shall there be arrived, will by their letters more fully advertise us. The king of China therefore is honoured with woonderfull reverence and submission thorowout his whole Realme: and when-

soever any of his chiefe Magistrates speaketh unto him, he calleth him VAN-SI, signifying thereby that he wisheth tenne thousands of yeeres unto him. The succession of the kingdome dependeth upon the bloud royall: for the eldest sonne borne of the kings first and lawfull wife obtaineth the kingdome after his fathers decease: neither doe they deprive themselves of the kingly authority in their life time (as the maner is in our Ilands of Japon) but the custome of Europe is there observed. Now, that the safety and life of the king may stand in more security, his yoonger brethren, and the rest borne of concubines are not permitted to live in the kings Court: but places of habitation are by the king himselfe assigned unto them in divers provinces farre distant asunder, where they dwell most commodiously, being comparable unto kings for their buildings and revenues: howbeit they exercise no authority over the people, but all the government of those Cities wherein they dwell, concerneth the Magistrates, who notwithstanding have the sayde Princes in high regard and honour, and doe visit them twice in a moneth, and salute them kneeling upon their knees, and bowing their faces downe to the earth: and yet they communicate nothing unto them as touching the administration of the Common-wealth. These are they which may properly be called the Peeres or Princes of the Realme of China: for they derive their houses and revenues unto their posterity, and so are these royall families continually preserved. But to returne unto the king himselfe, hee is most chary in observing the Chinian lawes and customes, and diligently exerciseth himselfe in learning so much as concernes his estate, sheweth himselfe dayly unto his chiefe Magistrates, and communeth of matters appertaining to the publique commodity of the Realme. His palace is of woonderfull largenesse and capacity, out of the which he very seldome takes his progresse; and whensoever he doeth so, there are twelve chariots brought forth, all of them most like one to another both in workemanship and in value, that no man may discern in which the king himselfe is placed. He followeth in religion especially the opinions of the Magistrates, attributing divine power unto heaven and earth as unto the parents of all, and with great solemnity sacrificing unto them. He hath divers most sumptuous Temples dedicated unto his ancestours, whereunto likewise he ascribeth

divine honour, and yet ceaseth hee not to favour Priests of other sects, yea hee erecteth Temples unto their Patrons, endowing them with most rich revenues; and so often as any urgent necessity requireth, he enjoynes continuall fastings and prayers unto them: and after this sort he doeth in a maner patronize all the idolatrous sects of his Realme, and shewing himselfe ready to embrace any false religion whatsoever, he liveth in sundry and manifolde kindes of superstition. Out of all the former particulars by me alledged, you may easily conjecture that the administration of the kingdome of China doeth, for the most part, agree with the instinct of nature, authority being committed, not unto rude and unskillfull persons, but unto such as have beene conversant in the use and exercise or learning, yea, and in promoting learned men unto magistracies, great consideration is had of their wisdom, justice, and of other vertues esteemed by the Chinians: wherefore the way being open for all men, without any respect of degree or parentage, to obtaine any of the foresayd dignities, it can not be but that this most mighty and famous kingdome must needes enjoy exceeding peace and tranquillity.

LEO. I would nowe (Michael) right gladly understand, what kinde of urbanity or civill demeanour both the common people and the Magistrates doe use one towards another: for it is not likely that where such due administration of justice is, common civility, which so well beseemeth all men, should be wanting.

MICHAEL. You have hit even the very naile on the head: for among the five vertues, which the Chinians principally regard, urbanity or courtesy is one; the rest are piety, a thankfull remembrance of benefites, true dealing in contracts or bargaines, and wisdom in atchieving of matters: with the praises and commendations of which vertues the Chinian bookes are full fraught. Now as touching their urbanity, it is much unlike unto ours in Japan, and unto that of Europe: howbeit under two principall kindes the rule of their urbanity or courtesie may be comprehended: whereof one is observed betweene equals, and the other betweene superiours and inferiours. For when men of equall dignity meet together, they stand bending their backs, and bowing their heads downe to the ground, and this they doe either once or twise, or sometimes thrise. Now,

when the inferiour meets with his superiour, the sayd inferiour, for the most part kneeling lowly on his knees, enclineth his countenance downe to the earth. But how often and when this obeizance is to be performed it is woonderfull what a number of rules and prescriptions are set downe, which to recount would require a long time. Somewhat also I will say as touching their piety, and especially of the piety which they use towards their parents, which verily is so exceeding great, that for the space of three whole yeres together, the sonnes being cladde in mourning vestures doe bewaile the death of their parents, which duety is performed not onely by the common sort, but even by all the Magistrates themselves, and that most curiously and diligently. And, that all men may wholly give their attendance unto this businesse, it is provided by a most inviolable law among the Chinians, that Magistrates, upon the death of their parents, must foorthwith renounce their authority, and three whole yeeres, for the performance of their fathers exequies, must betake themselves unto a private kinde of living: which also is most duely put in practise by the Senatours of the Kings owne Councell. For albeit a man be right gracious in the eyes of his Prince, yea, and such an one, as upon whom the administration of the Realme doeth principally depend; yet having heard of the death of his parents, that is, of his father or his mother, he hies himselfe immediatly home to solemnize their funerals: insomuch that if the king would retaine him still in his office, he should be esteemed by the people, as a transgressour of the lawes and customes of China: which accident (as it is recorded) in ancient times fel out even so. For whenas a certain king most familiarly used a certaine Senatour of his about the managing and expedition of publique affaires, and understanding well how necessary the helpe of his foresayd Senatour was, would gladly, after the death of his father, have retained him still in his office: yet a certaine other man, being a welwiller unto the Chinian lawes, could in no case abide it, but checking his Prince with sharpe rebukes, objected the transgression of the law against him. The king waxing wroth menaced present death unto the man: but when the party being no wit danted with the terrour of death, persisted still in his sayings, the king changing his determination dismissed the

Senatour to mourne for his father, but as for his reprehender he advanced him unto an higher dignity.

LINUS. I perceive (Michael) that drawing to an end of these dialogues, and being weary of your long race, you begin to affect brevity : yet let it not seeme troublesome unto you to speake somewhat of the religion of China, which onely thing seemes to be wanting in this present dialogue.

MICHAEL. I confesse indeed that I endeavour to be briefe, not so much in regard of wearisomnesse, as for feare least I have bene over tedious unto you : howbeit I will not faile but accomplish that which I have undertaken, and (according to your request) adde somewhat more concerning religion. Whereas therefore the kingdome of China hath hitherto bene destitute of true religion, and now the first beginnings thereof are included in most narrow bounds, that nation being otherwise a people most ingenious, and of an extraordinary and high capacity, hath alwayes lived in great errors and ignorance of the trueth, being distracted into sundry opinions, and following manifold sects. And among these sects there are three more famous then the rest : the first is of them that professe the doctrine of one Confucius a notable philosopher. This man (as it is reported in the history of his life) was one of most upright and incorrupt maners, whereof he wrote sundry treatises very pithily and largely, which above all other books, are seriously read and perused by the Chinians. The same doctrine do all Magistrates embrace, and others also that give their mindes to the study of letters, a great part whereof Confucius is sayd to have invented : and he is had in so great honour, that all his followers and clients, upon the dayes of the new and full Moone, doe assemble themselves at the common Schoole, which I have above mentioned, and before his image, which is worshipped with burning of incense and with tapers, they doe thrise bend their knees, and bow their heads downe to the ground ; which not onely the common scholars, but the chiefe Magistrates do performe. The summe of the foresayd doctrine is, that men should follow the light of nature as their guide, and that they should diligently endeavour to attaine unto the vertues by me before mentioned : and lastly, that they should employ their labour about the orderly government of their families and of the Common-wealth. All these

things are in very deed praise-woorthy, if Confucius had made any mention of almighty God and of the life to come, and had not ascribed so much unto the heavens, and unto fatall necessity, nor yet had so curiously intreated of worshipping the images of their forefathers. In which regard he can very hardly or not at all be excused from the crime of idolatry : notwithstanding it is to be granted, that none other doctrine among the Chinians approcheth so neere unto the trueth as this doeth. The second sect is of them which follow the instructions of Xaquam, or as the Chinians call him Xequiam, whose opinions, because they are well knowen amongst us, it were bootlesse for me to repeat; especially sithens, in the Catechisme composed by our grave visitour, they are notably refuted. This doctrine doe all they embrace, which are in China called Cen, but with us at Japon are named Bonzi. For this I doe briefly and by the way give you to understand, that all words of the Chinians language are of one sillable onely, so that if there be any word that consisteth of more sillables then one, it consisteth also of more wordes then one. These sectaries called Cen doe shave their beards and their heads, and doe for the most part, together with divers of their associates, inhabit the Temples of Xaquam, or of others which in regard of the same profession have in their Kalenders beene canonized for Saints, and doe rehearse certaine prayers after their maner, either upon books or beads, using other ceremonies after the maner of our Bonzi. These men have some inckling of the life to come, and of the rewardes of good men, and the punishments of the wicked : howbeit all their assertions are fraught with errours. The third sect is of them which are called Tauzu : and those doe imitate a certaine other man, to be adored, as they thinke, for his holinesse. These also are Priests after their kinde, howbeit they let their haire grow, and doe in other observations differ from the former. Nowe, because the sect of Confucius is the most famous of all the three, and the two other sects called Cen and Tauzu are not much addicted unto learning, their religion prevailing onely among the common sort, the Priests of both the sayd sects doe leade a most base and servile life amongst the Chinians, inso-much that they kneele downe before the Magistrates, and are not permitted to sit beside them, and sometimes, if the Magistrate please, are abased unto the punishment of



the bastonado: whereas in our Iles of Japon it is farre otherwise, Priests, even of false religion, being had in so great honour among us.

LEO. I heard also (Michael) that the Saracens superstition takes place in China: now, whether it doth or no, you can resolve us.

MICHAEL. That forren superstition was brought into China what time the Tartars invaded the kingdome, and usurped the government thereof. All the Saracens therefore in China are originally descended of the Tartars, who, because they were an infinite number, could not utterly be expelled and rooted out of the kingdome, but remaining still there, have propagated their posterity, though not their religion. These therefore are souldiers for the greater part of them, and sometimes doe obtaine martiall dignities: and except a few ceremonies of their superstition which is now become stale and almost worne out, they doe live altogether after the Chinians fashion, their predecessours being brought into the same kingdome about foure hundred yeeres agoe.

LINUS. Now (Michael) let us heare you say somewhat of the Christian religion, which as we hope hath set most happy footing in that kingdome.

MICHAEL. I could say much concerning those most wished and acceptable beginnings, were they not already published in Japon by the letters of the fathers: howbeit I will make a brieft rehearsall of all things, that I may not seeme altogether to have abandoned this labour. You know that from the time wherein the fathers of the society arrived in our Ilands, to the end they might augment Christian religion, they were in like sort most carefull how they might insinuate themselves into the innermost parts of the kingdome of China. In the midst of this endeavour and travell Francis Xavier, a most devout man of the foresayd society, departed out of this present life at the Ile of Sancian (which some call Sangiam) leaving an example unto the rest of his associates, how they should likewise doe their best to plant the religion of Christ in that nation. This man was seconded by others, who used all meanes, and left no practise unattempted, that they might bring these good beginnings unto a prosperous issue: howbeit they were greatly hindered by reason of an ancient custome in China, in regard whereof they doe not without great difficulty and

circumspection admit any strangers into their dominions, except those which having a long time executed the office of ambassadours doe ordinarily every third yeere present themselves before the king: in the admission of whom likewise there is marvellous care used, that they may not easily espie and become acquainted with the affaires of the Realme. Heereunto may be added, that the Chinians are great contemnners of other nations, and most constant observers of their owne lawes and customes: in all which respects it came to passe, that there was woonderfull labour and diligence employed above thirty yeeres together, onely to get an entrance, untill in the yeere one thousand five hundred fourescore and three, two fathers of the foresayd society, that had pretty skill in the letters and language of China, utterly despairing of mans helpe, and depending upon the providence of almighty God, obtained licence of the Tutan or Vice-roy to build them an house and a Church in the City of Xauquin, which by reason of the commodiousnesse thereof is the seat of the Viceroy himselve. This worke being begunne, the sayd fathers of the society, for the novelty thereof, were a few yeeres right well entreated by the Magistrates: insomuch that two others out of India had free and easie accesse unto them, one couple remaining still in their foresayd house at Xauquin, and the other two taking their journey for the inner provinces, to convert more people unto the faith: who notwithstanding afterward, other Magistrates not approving of their attempts, were constrained to retire. Nowe all the time wherein the foresayd fathers abode at Xauquin (being more then five yeeres) certaine of the common people were restrained from false superstition to Christian religion, and seventy persons were baptized. But the enemy of mankinde, who omitteth none opportunity for the hinderance of Christian religion, suggested into the mindes of the Chinians (being, as I sayd, of their owne nature, a people estranged from the traffique and acquaintance of other nations, and alwayes being too too suspicious of strangers) that they should exhibite letters of supplication unto the Caien and the Tutan their principall Magistrates, to have the fathers expelled out of Xauquin: which Magistrates repairing unto their foresayd house and Church entered consultation how they might bannish them out of the sayd City of Xauquin: in which thing verily they used great moderation, not

any way offending or exasperating the mindes of the fathers, but onely signifying that they had regard unto the estate of their Commonwealth. For the Tutan or Vice-roy calling the fathers unto him, and (to let passe other accidents) using courteous and familiar conference with them, declared by many arguments, that their habitation in the City of Xauquin was not convenient, especially sithens so many Magistrates resorted unto that City, who would take great offence at the presence of strangers. For the which cause he perswaded them to accept some part of the money which they had bestowed in the building of their house, and so to returne either home into their owne countrey, or unto the port of Macao. Howbeit, such was the instant supplication of the fathers, and so woorthy of compassion, that the Tutan or Vice-roy, in the extreame and mediterrane borders of the province of Coantum, assigned unto them a new habitation at the city called Xaucheo, commending them also to a certaine Magistrate, who was come from the same place to salute him. Thither therefore the sayd fathers, not without great sorrow and grieve of the Christians, hied themselves, and as we are informed by their last letters, they have even now layed the foundation of their first building, and have also written that they are like to live much more peaceably and conveniently for the propagating of Christian religion. These be the first beginnings of Christianity in China, where, even as in other places of the Christian Common-wealth, the seed is to be sown with great labour and teares, that acceptable fruits may be reaped with gladnesse.

LEO. It is even as you have sayd (Michael) and nowe for this your pleasant and eloquent discourse we do acknowledge our selves much bounden unto you.

A Letter written from Goa, the principall City of all the East Indies, by one Thomas Stevens an English man, and sent to his father, M. Thomas Stevens : Anno 1579.

AFTER most humble commendations: These shall be to crave your dayly blessing, with like commendations unto my mother; and withall, to certifie you of my being: according to your will and my duety. I wrote unto you taking my journey from Italy to Portugall, which letters I thinke are come to your hands, so that presuming thereupon, I thinke I have the lesse need at this time to tell

you the cause of my departing, which neverthelesse in one word I may conclude, if I do but name obedience. I came to Lisbon toward the end of March, eight dayes before the departure of the shippes, so late that if they had not bene stayed about some weighty matters, they had bene long gone before our comming: insomuch that there were others ordained to goe in our places, that the kings provision and ours also might not be in vaine. Neverthelesse our sudden comming tooke place, and the fourth of Aprill five ships departed for Goa, wherein besides shipmen and souldiers, there were a great number of children which in the seas beare out better then men, and no marvell, when that many women also passe very well. The setting foorth from the port I need not to tell how solemne it is with trumpets, and shooting of ordinance, you may easily imagine it, considering that they go in the maner of warre. The tenth of the foresayd moneth we came to the sight of Porto Santo neere unto Madera, where an English shippe set upon ours (which was then also alone) with a few shots, which did no harme, but after that our ship had layed out her greatest ordinance, they straight departed as they came. The English shippe was very faire and great, which I was sory to see so ill occupied, for she went roving about, so that we saw her againe at the Canarian Iles, unto the which we came the thirteenth of the sayd moneth, and good leisure we had to woonder at the high mountaine of the Iland Tenerif, for we wandred betweene that and great Canaria foure dayes by reason of contrary windes: and briefly, such evill weather we had untill the foureteenth of May, that they despaired, to compasse the Cape of Good hope that yeere. Neverthelesse, taking our voyage betweene Guinea and the Ilands of Capo Verde, without seeing of any land at all, we arrived at length unto the coast of Guinie, which the Portugals so call, chiefly that part of the burning Zone, which is from the sixt degree unto the Equinoctiall, in which parts they suffered so many inconveniences of heats, and lacke of windes, that they thinke themselves happy when they have passed it: for sometimes the ship standeth there almost by the space of many dayes, sometime she goeth, but in such order that it were almost as good to stand still. And the greatest part of this coast not cleare, but thicke and cloudy, full of thunder and lightening, and raine so unwholesome, that if the water

stand a little while, all is full of wormes, and falling on the meat which is hanged up, it maketh it straight full of wormes. Along all that coast we often times saw a thing swimming upon the water like a cocks combe (which they call a ship of Guinea) but the colour much fairer; which combe standeth upon a thing almost like the swimmer of a fish in colour and bignesse, and beareth underneath in the water, strings, which save it from turning over. This thing is so poisonous, that a man cannot touch it without great perill. In this coast, that is to say, from the sixt degree unto the Equinoctiall, we spent no lesse then thirty dayes, partly with contrary windes, partly with calme. The thirtieth of May we passed the Equinoctiall with contentation, directing our course aswell as we could to passe the promontory, but in all that gulfe, & in all the way beside, we found so often calmes, that the expertest mariners wondred at it. And in places where are alwayes woont to be most horrible tempests, we found most quiet calmes which was very troublesome to those ships which be the greatest of all other, and cannot go without good windes. Insomuch, that when it is tempest almost intolerable for other ships, and maketh them maine all their sailes, these hoise up, and saile excellent well, unlesse the waters be too too furious, which seldome happened in our navigation. You shall understand, that being passed the line, they cannot straightway go the next way to the promontory: but according to the winde, they draw alwayes as neere South as they can to put themselves in the latitude of the point, which is 35 degrees and an halfe, and then they take their course towards the East, and so compasse the point. But the winde served us so, that at 33 degrees we did direct our course toward the point or promontory of Good hope.

You know that it is hard to saile from East to West, or contrary, because there is no fixed point in all the skie, whereby they may direct their course, wherefore I shall tell you what helps God provided for these men. There is not a fowle that appereth, or signe in the aire, or in the sea, which they have not written, which have made the voyages heretofore. Wherefore, partly by their owne experience, and pondering withall what space the ship was able to make with such a winde, and such direction, and partly by the experience of others, whose books and navigations they have, they gesse whereabouts they be,

touching degrees of longitude, for of latitude they be alwayes sure : but the greatest and best industry of all is to marke the variation of the needle or compasse, which in the Meridian of the Iland of S. Michael, which is one of the Azores in the latitude of Lisbon, is just North, and thence swarveth towards the East so much, that betwixt the Meridian aforesayd, and the point of Africa it carrieth three or foure quarters of 32. And againe in the point of Afrike, a little beyond the point that is called Cape das Agulias (in English the needles) it returneth againe unto the North, and that place passed, it swarveth againe toward the West, as it did before proportionally. As touching our first signes, the neerer we came to the people of Afrike, the more strange kindes of fowles appeared, insomuch that when we came within no lesse then thirty leagues (almost an hundred miles) and sixe hundred miles as we thought from any Iland, as good as three thousand fowles of sundry kindes followed our ship : some of them so great that their wings being opened from one point to the other, contained seven spannes, as the Mariners sayd. A marvellous thing to see how God provided, so that in so wide a sea these fowles are all fat, and nothing wanteth them. The Portugals have named them all according to some propriety which they have : some they call Rushtales, because their tales be not proportionable to their bodies, but long and small like a rush, some forked tales because they be very broad and forked, some Velvet sleeves, because they have wings of the colour of velvet, and bowe them as a man boweth his elbow. This bird is alwayes welcome, for he appeareth neere the Cape. I should never make an end if I should tell all particulars : but it shall suffice briefly to touch a few, which yet shall be sufficient, if you marke them, to give occasion to glorifie almighty God in his wonderfull works, and such variety in his creatures. And to speake somewhat of fishes in all places of calme, especially in the burning Zone, neere the line (for without we never saw any) there waited on our ship fishes as long as a man, which they call Tuberones, they come to eat such things as from the shippe fall into the sea, not refusing men themselves if they light upon them. And if they finde any meat tied in the sea, they take it for theirs. These have waiting on them six or seven small fishes (which never depart) with gardes blew and greene round about their



bodies, like comely serving men : and they go two or three before him, and some on every side. Moreover, they have other fishes which cleave alwayes unto their body, and seeme to take such superfluities as grow about them, and they are sayd to enter into their bodies also to purge them if they need. The Mariners in time past have eaten of them, but since they have seene them eate men their stomacks abhorre them. Neverthesse, they draw them up with great hooks, & kill of them as many as they can, thinking that they have made a great revenge. There is another kind of fish as bigge almost as a herring, which hath wings and flieth, and they are together in great number. These have two enemies, the one in the sea, the other in the aire. In the sea the fish which is called Albocore, as big as a Salmon, followeth them with great swiftnesse to take them. This poore fish not being able swim fast, for he hath no finnes, but swimmeth with mooving of his taile, shutting his wings, lifteth himselfe above the water, and flieth not very hie : the Albocore seeing that, although he have no wings, yet he giveth a great leape out of the water, and sometimes catcheth him, or els he keepeth himselfe under the water going that way on as fast as he flieth. And when the fish being weary of the aire, or thinking himselfe out of danger, returneth into the water, the Albocore meeteth with him : but sometimes his other enemy the sea-crow, catcheth him before he falleth. With these and like sights, but alwayes making our supplications to God for good weather and salvation of the ship, we came at length unto the point, so famous & feared of all men : but we found there no tempest, only great waves, where our Pilot was a little overseene : for whereas commonly al other never come within sight of land, but seeing signes ordinary, and finding bottome, go their way sure and safe, he thinking himselfe to have winde at will, shot so nigh the land that the winde turning into the South, and the waves being exceeding great, rolled us so nere the land, that the ship stood in lesse then 14 fadoms of water, no more then sixe miles from the Cape, which is called Das Agulias, and there we stood as utterly cast away : for under us were rocks of maine stone so sharpe, and cutting, that no ancre could hold the ship, the shore so evill, that nothing could take land, and the land itselfe so full of Tigers, and people that are savage, and killers of all strangers, that we had no hope of life

nor comfort, but onely in God and a good conscience. Notwithstanding, after we had lost ancre, hoising up the sailes for to get the ship a coast in some safer place, or when it should please God, it pleased his mercy suddenly, where no man looked for helpe, to fill our sailes with wind from the land, & so we escaped, thanks be to God. And the day following, being in the place where they are alwayes wont to catch fish, we also fell a fishing, and so many they tooke, that they served all the ship for that day, and part of the next. And one of them pulled up a corall of great bignes and price. For there they say (as we saw by experience) that the corals doe grow in the maner of stalks upon the rocks in the bottome, and waxe hard and red. The day of perill was the nine and twentieth of July. And you shall understand that, the Cape passed, there be two wayes to India: one within the Ile of S. Laurence, which they take willingly, because they refresh themselves at Mosambique a fortnight or a moneth, not without great need, and thence in a moneth more land in Goa. The other is without the Ile of S. Laurence, which they take when they set forth so late, and come so late to the point, that they have no time to take the foresayd Mosambique, and then they goe heavily, because in this way they take no port. And by reason of the long navigation, and want of food and water, they fall into sundry diseases, their gummies waxe great, and swell, and they are faine to cut them away, their legges swell, and all the body becommeth sore, and so benumbed, that they can not stirre hand nor foot, and so they die for weaknesse, others fall into fluxes and agues, and die thereby. And this way it was our chance to make: yet though we had more then one hundred and fifty sicke, there died not past seven and twenty; which losse they esteemed not much in respect of other times. Though some of ours were diseased in this sort, yet, thanks be to God, I had my health all the way, contrary to the expectation of many: God send me my health so well in the land, if it may be to his honour and service. This way is full of privy rockes and quicke-sands, so that sometimes we durst not saile by night, but by the providence of God we saw nothing, nor never found bottome untill we came to the coast of India. When we had passed againe the line, and were come to the third degree or somewhat more, we saw crabs swimming on the water that were red as though

they had bene sodden: but this was no signe of land. After, about the eleventh degree, the space of many dayes, more then ten thousand fishes by estimation followed round about our ship, whereof we caught so many, that for fifteene dayes we did eate nothing els, and they served our turne very well: for at this time we had neither meat nor almost any thing els to eate, our navigation growing so long that it drew neere to seven moneths, where as commonly they goe it in five, I meane when they saile the inner way. But these fishes were not signe of land, but rather of deepe sea. At length we tooke a couple of birds, which were a kinde of Hawks, whereof they joyed much, thinking that they had bene of India, but indeed they were of Arabia, as we found afterward. And we that thought we had bene neere India, were in the same latitude neere Zocotoro, an Ile in the mouth of the Red sea. But there God sent us great winds from the Northeast or Northnortheast, whereupon unwillingly they bare up toward the East, and thus we went tenne dayes without seeing signe of land, whereby they perceived their error: for they had directed their course before alwayes Northeast, coveting to multiply degrees of latitude, but partly the difference of the Needle, and most of all the running seas, which at that time ran Northwest, had drawen us to this other danger, had not God sent us this winde, which at length waxed larger, and restored us to our right course. These running seas be so perillous that they deceive the most part of the governours, and some be so little curious, contenting themselves with ordinary experience, that they care not to seeke out any meanes to know when they swarve, neither by the compasse, nor by any other triall. The first signe of land were certaine fowles which they knew to be of India: the second, boughes of palmes and sedges: the third, snakes swimming on the water, and a substance which they call by the name of a coine of money, as broad and as round as a groat, woonderfully printed and stamped of nature, like unto some coine. And these two last signes be so certaine, that the next day after, if the winde serve, they see land, which we did to our great joy, when all our water (for you know they make no beere in those parts) and victuals began to faile us. And to Goa we came the foure and twentieth day of October, there being received with passing great charity. The people be tawny, but not disfigured

in their lips & noses, as the Moores and Cafres of Ethiopia. They that be not of reputation, or at least the most part, goe naked, saving an apron of a span long, and as much in bredth before them, and a lace two fingers broad before them, girded about with a string and no more: and thus they thinke them as well as we with all our trimming. Of the fruits and trees that be here I cannot now speake, for I should make another letter as long as this. For hitherto I have not seene a tree here, whose like I have seene in Europe, the vine excepted, which neverthesse here is to no purpose, so that all the wines are brought out of Portugall. The drinke of this countrey is good water, or wine of the Palme tree, or of a fruit called Cocos. And this shall suffice for this time. If God send me my health, I shall have opportunity to write to you once againe. Now the length of my letter compelleth me to take my leave: and thus I wish your most prosperous health. From Goa the tenth of November, 1579.

Your loving sonne Thomas  
Stevens.

A briefe relation of the great magnificence and rich traffike of the kingdome of Pegu beyond the East India, written by Frey Peter of Lisbon, to his cousin Frey Diego of Lisbon, from Cochin.

I RECEIVED your letters in the harbour of Damaon by a caravell of advise that came from Malacca, which brought shot, powder, and other provision for the furnishing of foure gallies and a great gallion, which are now in building, to keepe our coast for feare of great store of men of warre, being Moores, which trouble us very sore. At that instant when I received your letters I was newly come from the kingdome of Pegu, where I had remained one yeere and an halfe, and from thence I departed to the city of Cochin in October 1587. The newes which I can certifie you of concerning these countreys are: That this king of Pegu is the mightiest king of men, & the richest that is in these parts of the world: for he bringeth into the field at any time, when he hath warres with other princes, above a million of fighting men: howbeit they be very leane and small people, and are brought unto the field without good order. He is lord of the Elephants, and of all the golde and silver mines, and of all the pearles

and precious stones : so that he hath the greatest store of treasure that ever was heard of in these parts. The countrey people call him The God of trueth and of justice. I had great conference with this king, and with the head captaine of the Portugals, which is one of the countrey. They demanded of me many questions as touching the law and faith of Jesus Christ, and as touching the Ten Commandements. And the king gave his consent that our Order should build a Church in his countrey, which was halfe builded; but our perverse and malicious Portugals plucked it downe againe: for whereas it is a countrey wherein our nation gaine very much by their commodities, they fearing that by the building of this Church there would be greater resort thither, and so their trade should be impaired, if their great gaines should be knowne unto others then those which found this countrey out first, therefore they were so unwilling that the building of this Church should goe forward. Our Portugals which are here in this realme are woorse people then the Gentiles. I preached divers times among those heathen people; but being obstinate they say, that as their fathers beleevd so they will beleve: for if their forefathers went to the devill so they will. Whereupon I returned backe againe to our monastery to certifie our father provinciall of the estate of this New found countrey. It is the best and richest countrey in all this East India; and it is thought to be richer then China.

I am afrayd that the warres which his Majesty hath with England will be the utter undoing and spoile of Spaine: for these countreys likewise are almost spoiled with civill warres, which the Moores have against the Gentiles: for the kings here are up in armes all the countrey over. Here is an Indian which is counted a Prophet, which hath prophesied that there will a Dragon arise in a strange countrey, which will do great hurt to Spaine. How it will fall out, onely God doth know. And thus I rest: from this monastery of Cochin the 28 of December, 1589.

Your good cousin and assured friend  
frier Peter of Lisbon.

A voyage with three tall ships, the Penelope Admirall, the Marchant royall Viceadmirall, and the Edward Bonaventure Rereadmirall, to the East Indies, by the Cape of Buona Speransa, to Quitangone neere Mosambique, to the Iles of Comoro and Zanzibar on the backside of Africa, and beyond Cape Comori in India, to the Iles of Nicubar and of Gomes Polo within two leagues of Sumatra, to the Ilands of Pulo Pinaom, and thence to the maine land of Malacca, begunne by M. George Raymond, in the yeere 1591, and performed by M. James Lancaster, and written from the mouth of Edmund Barker of Ipswich, his lieutenant in the sayd voyage, by M. Richard Hakluyt.

OUR fleet of the three tall ships abovenamed departed from Plimmouth the 10 of April 1591, and arrived at the Canarie-lands the 25 of the same, from whence we departed the 29 of April. The second of May we were in the height of Cape Blanco. The fift we passed the tropique of Cancer. The eight we were in the height of Cape Verde. All this time we went with a faire winde at Northeast, alwayes before the winde untill the 13 of the same moneth, when we came within 8 degrees of the Equinoctiall line, where we met with a contrary winde. Here we lay off and on in the sea untill the sixt of June, on which day we passed the sayd line. While we lay thus off and on, we tooke a Portugal Caravel laden by marchants of Lisbon for Brasile, in which Caravel we had some 60 tunnes of wine, 1200 jarres of oyle, about 100 jarres of olives, certaine barrels of capers, three fats of peason, with divers other necessaries fit for our voyage: which wine, oyle, olives and capers were better to us then gold. We had two men died before wee passed the line, and divers sicke, which tooke their sicknesse in those hote climates: for they be wonderful unholosome from 8 degrees of Northerly latitude unto the line, at that time of the yeere: for we had nothing but Ternados, with such thunder, lightning, and raine, that we could not keep our men drie 3 houres together, which was an occasion of the infection among them, and their eating of salt victuals, with lacke of clothes to shift them. After we passed the line, we had the wind still at Eastsoutheast, which caried us along the coast of Brasil 100 leagues from the maine, til we came in 26 degrees to the Southward of



the line, where the wind came up to the North, at which time we did account, that the Cape of Buona esperansa did beare off us East and by South, betwixt 900 and 1000 leagues. Passing this gulfe from the coast of Brasil unto the Cape we had the wind often variable as it is upon our coast, but for the most part so, that we might lie our course. The 28 of July we had sight of the foresayd Cape of Buona esperansa: untill the 31 wee lay off and on with the wind contrary to double the Cape, hoping to double it, & so to have gone seventie leagues further to a place called Agoada de S. Bras, before we would have sought to have put into any harbour. But our men being weake and sicke in all our shippes, we thought good to seeke some place to refresh them. With which consent we bare up with the land to the Northward of the Cape, and going along the shore, we espied a goodly Baie with an Iland lying to Seawards of it, into which we did beare, and found it very commodious for our ships to ride in. This Baie is called Agoada de Saldanha, lying 15 leagues Northward on the hither side of the Cape. The first of August being Sunday we came to an anker in the Baie, sending our men on land, and there came unto them certaine blacke Salvages very brutish which would not stay, but retired from them. For the space of 15 or 20 dayes we could find no reliefe but onely foules which wee killed with our pieces, which were cranès and geese: there was no fish but muskles and other shel-fish, which we gathered on the rockes. After 15 or 20 dayes being here, our Admirall went with his pinnasse unto the Iland which lieth off this Baie, where hee found great store of Penguins & Seales, whereof he brought good plenty with him. And twice after that we sent certain of our men, which at both times brought their bots lading unto our ships. After we had bene here some time, we got here a Negro, whom we compelled to march into the country with us, making signs to bring us some cattell; but at this time we could come to the sight of none, so we let the Negro goe with some trifles. Within 8 dayes after, he with 30 or 40 other Negroes, brought us downe some 40 bullocks and oxen, with as many sheepe: at which time we bought but few of them. But within 8 dayes after they came downe with as many more, & then we bought some 24 oxen with as many sheepe. We bought an oxe for two knives, a stirke for a knife, and

a sheepe for a knife, and some we bought for lesse value then a knife. The oxen be very large and well fleshed, but not fat. The sheepe are very big and very good meat, they have no woll on their backs but haire, and have great tailes like the sheepe in Syria. There be divers sorts of wild beasts, as the Antilope, (whereof M. Lancaster killed one of the bignes of a yong colt) the ree & fallow Deere, with other great beasts unknowen unto us. Here are also great store of over-grown monkeis. As touching our proceeding upon our voyage, it was thought good rather to proceed with two ships wel manned, then with three evill manned: for here wee had of sound and whole men but 198, of which there went in the Penelope with the Admirall 101, and in the Edward with the worshipfull M. captaine Lancaster 97. We left behind 50 men with the Roiall marchant, whereof there were many pretily well recovered, of which ship was master and governour Abraham Kendal, which for many reasons we thought good to send home. The disēase that hath consumed our men hath bene the skurvie. Our souldiers which have not bene used to the Sea, have best held out, but our mariners dropt away, which (in my judgement) proceedeth of their evill diet at home.

Sixe dayes after our sending backe for England of the Marchant Roiall from Agoada de Saldanha, our Admirall M. captaine Raimond in the Penelope, and M. James Lancaster in the Edward Bonaventure, set forward to double the Cape of Buona esperansa, which they did very speedily. But being passed as far as Cape dos Corrientes, the 14 of September we were encountred with a mighty storme and extreeme gusts of wind, wherein we lost our Generals companie, and could never heare of him nor his ship any more, though we did our best endeavour to seeke him up and downe a long while, and staid for him certaine dayes at the Iland of Comoro, where we appointed to stay one for another. Foure dayes after this uncomfortable seperation in the morning toward ten of the clocke we had a terrible clap of thunder, which slew foure of our men outright, their necks being wrung in sonder without speaking any word, and of 94 men there was not one untouched, whereof some were stricken blind, others were bruised in their legs & armes, and others in their brests, so that they voided blood two dayes after, others were drawn out at length as though they had bene

racked. But (God be thanked) they all recovered saving onely the foure which were slaine out right. Also with the same thunder our maine maste was torne very grievously from the head to the decke, and some of the spikes that were ten inches into the timber, were melted with the extreme heate theereof. From thence wee shaped our course to the Northeast, and not long after we fell upon the Northwest end of the mighty Iland of S. Laurence: which one of our men espied by Gods good blessing late in the evening by Moone light, who seeing afarre off the breaking of the Sea, and calling to certaine of his fellowes, asked them what it was: which eftsoones told him that it was the breaking of the Sea upon the Shoulds. Whereupon in very good time we cast about to avoyd the danger which we were like to have incurred. Thus passing on forward, it was our lucke to over-shoote Mozambique, and to fall with a place called Quitangone two leagues to the Northward of it, and we tooke three or foure Barks of Moores, which Barks in their language they call Pangaias, laden with Millio, hennes, and ducks, with one Portugall boy, going for the provision of Mozambique. Within few dayes following we came to an Iland an hundred leagues to the Northeast of Mozambique called Comoro, which we found exceeding full of people, which are Moores of tawnie colour and good stature, but they be very trecherous and diligently to be taken heed of. Here wee desired to store our selves with water, whereof we stood in great need, and sent sixteene of our men well armed on shore in our boate: whom the people suffred quietly to land and water, and divers of them with their king came aboard our ship in a gowne of crimosine Sattin pinked after the Moorish fashion downe to the knee, whom we entertained in the best maner, and had some conference with him of the state of the place and marchandises, using our Portugall boy which we had taken before for our interpreter, and in the end licensed the king and his company to depart, and sent our men againe for more water, who then also dispatched their businesse, & returned quietly: the third time likewise we sent them for more, which also returned without any harme. And though we thought our selves furnished, yet our master William Mace of Radcliffe pretending that it might be long before we should finde any good watering place, would needes goe himselfe on shore with thirtie

men, much against the will of our captaine, and hee and 16 of his company, together with one boat which was all that we had, and 16 others that were a washing over-against our ship, were betrayed of the perfidious Moores, and in our sight for the most part slaine, we being not able for want of a boat to yeeld them any succour. From hence with heavie hearts we shaped our course for Zanzibar the 7 of November, where shortly after wee arrived and made us a new boat of such boards as we had within boord, and rid in the road untill the 15 of February, where, during our aboad, we sawe divers Pangaia's or boates, which are pinned with woodden pinnes, and sowed together with Palmito cordes, and calked with the huskes of Cocos shels beaten, whereof they make Occam. At length a Portugal Pangaia coming out of the harborow of Zanzibar, where they have a small Factorie, sent a Canoa with a Moore which had bene christened, who brought us a letter wherein they desired to know what wee were, and what we sought. We sent them word we were Englishmen come from Don Antonio upon businesse to his friends in the Indies: with which answer they returned, and would not any more come at us. Whereupon not long after wee manned out our boat and tooke a Pangaia of the Moores, which had a priest of theirs in it, which in their language they call a Sherife: whom we used very curteously: which the king tooke in very good part, having his priests in great estimation, and for his deliverance furnished us with two moneths victuals, during all which time we detained him with us. These Moores informed us of the false and spitefull dealing of the Portugals towards us, which made them beleieve that we were cruell people and men-eaters, and willed them if they loved their safetie in no case to come neere us. Which they did onely to cut us off from all knowledge of the state and traffique of the countrey. While we road from the end of November until the middle of February in this harborough, which is sufficient for a ship of 500 tuns to ride in, we set upon a Portugall Pangaia with our boat, but because it was very litle, & our men not able to stirre in it, we were not able to take the sayd Pangaia, which was armed with 10 good shot like our long fouling pieces. This place for the goodnesse of the harborough and watering, and plentifull refreshing with fish, whereof we tooke great store with our nets,

and for sundry sorts of fruits of the countrey, as Cocos and others, which were brought us by the Moores, as also for oxen and hennes, is carefully to be sought for by such of our ships, as shall hereafter passe that way. But our men had need to take good heed of the Portugals: for while we lay here the Portugall Admiral of the coast from Melinde to Mozambique, came to view and to betray our boat if he could have taken at any time advantage, in a gallie Frigate of ten tunnes with 8 or 9 oares on a side. Of the strength of which Frigate and their trecherous meaning we were advertised by an Arabian Moore which came from the king of Zanzibar divers times unto us about the deliverie of the priest aforesayd, and afterward by another which we caried thence along with us: for wheresoever we came, our care was to get into our hands some one or two of the countreys to learne the languages and states of those partes where we touched. Moreover, here againe we had another clap of thunder which did shake our foremast very much, which wee fisht and repaired with timber from the shore, whereof there is good store thereabout of a kind of trees some fortie foot high, which is a red and tough wood, and as I suppose, a kind of Cedar. Here our Surgeon Arnold negligently catching a great heate in his head being on land with the master to seeke oxen, fell sicke and shortly died, which might have bene cured by letting of blood before it had bin settled. Before our departure we had in this place some thousand weight of pitch, or rather a kind of gray and white gumme like unto frankincense, as clammie as turpentine, which in melting groweth as blacke as pitch, and is very brittle of it selfe, but we mingled it with oile, whereof wee had 300 jarres in the prize which we tooke to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, not farre from Guinie, bound for Brasil. Sixe dayes before wee departed hence, the Cape marchant of the Factorie wrote a letter unto our captaine in the way of friendship, as he pretended, requesting a jarre of wine, and a jarre of oyle, and two or three pounds of gunpouder, which letter hee sent by a Negro his man, and Moore in a Canoa: we sent him his demaunds by the Moore, but tooke the Negro along with us because we understood he had bene in the East Indies and knew somewhat of the countrey. By this Negro we were advertised of a small Barke of some thirtie tunnes (which the Moores call a Junco) which was come from Goa

thither laden with Pepper for the Factorie and service of that kingdome. Thus having trimmed our shippe as we lay in this road, in the end we set forward for the coast of the East India, the 15 of February aforesayd, intending if we could to have reached to Cape Comori, which is the headland or Promontorie of the maine of Malavar, and there to have lien off and on for such ships as should have passed from Zeilan, Sant Tome, Bengala, Pegu, Malacca, the Moluccos, the coast of China, and the Ile of Japan, which ships are of exceeding wealth and riches. But in our course we were very much deceived by the currents that set into the gulse of the Red sea along the coast of Melinde. And the windes shortening upon us to the Northeast and Easterly, kept us that we could not get off, and so with the putting in of the currents from the Westward, set us in further unto the Northward within fourescore leagues of the Ile of Zocotora, farre from our determined course and expectation. But here we never wanted abundance of Dolphins, Bonitos and flying fishes. Now while we found our selves thus farre to the Northward, and the time being so farre spent, we determined to goe for the Red sea, or for the Iland of Zocotora, both to refresh our selves, and also for some purchase. But while wee were in this consultation, the winde very luckily came about to the Northwest and caried us directly toward Cape Comori. Before we should have doubled this Cape, we were determined to touch at the Ilands of Mamale, of which we had advertisement, that one had victuals, standing in the Northerly latitude of twelve degrees. Howbeit it was not our good lucke to finde it, which fell out partly by the obstinacie of our master: for the day before we fell with part of the Ilands the wind came about to the Southwest, and then shifting our course we missed it. So the wind increasing Southerly, we feared we should not have bene able to have doubled the Cape, which would have greatly hazarded our casting away upon the coast of India, the Winter season and Western Monsons already being come in, which Monsons continue on that coast until August. Nevertheles it pleased God to bring the wind more Westerly, & so in the moneth of May 1592. we happily doubled Cape Comori without sight of the coast of India. From hence thus having doubled this Cape, we directed our course for the Ilands of Nicubar, which lie North and South with the



Westerne part of Sumatra, and in the latitude of 7 degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall. From which Cape of Comori unto the aforesayd Ilands we ranne in sixe dayes with a very large wind though the weather were foule with extreme raine and gustes of windes. These Ilands were missed through our masters default for want of due observation of the South starre. And we fell to the Southward of them within the sight of the Ilands of Gomes Polo, which lie hard upon the great Iland of Sumatra the first of June, and at the Northeast side of them we lay two or three dayes becalmed, hoping to have had a Pilote from Sumatra, within two leagues whereof wee lay off and on. Now the Winter comming upon us with much contagious weather, we directed our course from hence with the Ilands of Pulo Pinaou, (where by the way is to be noted that Pulo in the Malaian tongue signifieth an Iland) at which Ilands wee arrived about the beginning of June, where we came to an anker in a very good harborough betweene three Ilands: at which time our men were very sicke and many fallen. Here we determined to stay untill the Winter were overpast. This place is in 6 degrees and a halfe to the Northward, and some five leagues from the maine betweene Malacca and Pegu. Here we continued untill the end of August. Our refreshing in this place was very smal, onely of oisters growing on rocks, great wilks, and some few fish which we tooke with our hookes. Here we landed our sicke men on these uninhabited Ilands for their health, nevertheless 26 of them died in this place, whereof John Hall our master was one, and M. Rainold Golding another, a marchant of great honestie and much discretion. In these Islands are abundance of trees of white wood, so right and tall, that a man may make mastes of them being an hundred foote long. The winter passed and having watered our ship and fitted her to goe to Sea, wee had left us but 33 men and one boy, of which not past 22 were sound for labour and helpe, and of them not past a third part sailers: thence we made saile to seeke some place of refreshing and went over to the maine of Malacca. The next day we came to an anker in a Baie in six fadomes water some two leagues from the shore. Then master James Lancaster our captaine, and M. Edmund Barker his lieutenant, and other of the companie manning the boat, went on shore to see what inhabitants

might be found. And comming on land we found the tracking of some barefooted people which were departed thence not long before : for we sawe their fire still burning, but people we sawe none, nor any other living creature, save a certaine kind of foule called oxe birds, which are a gray kind of Sea-foule, like a Snite in colour, but not in beake. Of these we killed some eight dozen with haile-shot being very tame, and spending the day in search, returned toward night aboard. The next day about two of the clocke in the afternoone we espied a Canoa which came neere unto us, but would not come aboard us, having in it some sixteen naked Indians, with whom nevertheles going afterward on land, we had friendly conference and promise of victuals. The next day in the morning we espied three ships, being all of burthen 60 or 70 tunnes, one of which wee made to strike with our very boate : and understanding that they were of the towne of Martabam, which is the chiefe haven towne for the great citie of Pegu, and the goods belonging to certaine Portugal Jesuites and a Biscuit baker a Portugal, we tooke that ship & did not force the other two, because they were laden for marchants of Pegu, but having this one at our command, we came together to an anker. The night folowing all the men except twelve, which we tooke into our ship, being most of them borne in Pegu, fled away in their boate, leaving their ship and goods with us. The next day we weighed our anker and went to the Leeward of an Iland hard by, and tooke in her lading being pepper, which shee and the other two had laden at Pera, which is a place on the maine 30 leagues to the South. Besides the aforesaid three ships, we tooke another ship of Pegu laden with pepper, and perceiving her to bee laden with marchants goods of Pegu onely, wee dismissed her without touching any thing.

Thus having staid here 10 daies and discharged her goods into the Edward, which was about the beginning of September, our sicke men being somewhat refreshed and lustie, with such reliefe as we had found in this ship, we weighed anker, determining to runne into the streights of Malacca to the Ilands called Pulo Sambilam, which are some five and fortie leagues Northward of the citie of Malacca, to which Ilands the Portugals must needs come from Goa or S. Thome, for the Malucos, China, and Japan. And when wee were there arrived, we lay too

and agayne for such shipping as should come that way. Thus having spent some five dayes, upon a Sunday we espied a saile which was a Portugall ship that came from Negapatan a towne on the maine of India over-against the Northeast part of the Ile of Zeilan; and that night we tooke her being of 250 tunnes: she was laden with Rice for Malacca. Captaine Lancaster commanded their captaine and master aboard our shippe, and sent Edmund Barker his lieutenant and seven more to keepe this prize, who being aboard the same, came to an anker in thirtie fadomes water: for in that chanell three or foure leagues from the shore you shall finde good anchorage. Being thus at an anker and keeping out a light for the Edward, another Portugall ship of Sant Thome of foure hundred tunnes, came and ankered hard by us. The Edward being put to Leeward for lacke of helpe of men to handle her sailes, was not able the next morning to fetch her up, until we which were in the prize with our boate, went to helpe to man our shippe. Then comming aboard we went toward the shippe of Sant Thome, but our ship was so foule that shee escaped us. After we had taken out of our Portugall prize what we thought good, we turned her and all her men away except a Pilot and foure Moores. We continued here untill the sixt of October, at which time we met with the ship of the captaine of Malacca of seven hundred tunnes which came from Goa: we shot at her many shot, and at last shooting her maine-yard through, she came to an anker and yeelded. We commaunded her Captaine, Master, Pilot and Purser to come aboard us. But the Captaine accompanied with one souldier onely came, and after certaine conference with him, he made excuse to fetch the Master and Purser, which he sayd would not come unlesse he went for them: but being gotten from us in the edge of the evening, he with all the people which were to the number of about three hundred men, women and children, gote a shore with two great boates and quite abandoned the ship. At our comming aboard we found in her sixteene pieces of brasse, and three hundred butts of Canarie wine, and Nipar wine, which is made of the palme trees, and raisin wine which is also very strong: as also all kind of Haberdasher wares, as hats, red caps knit of Spanish wooll, worsted stockings knit, shooes, velvets, taffataes, chamlets, and silkes, abundance of suckets, rice, Venice

glasses, certaine papers full of false and counterfeit stones which an Italian brought from Venice to deceive the rude Indians withall, abundance of playing cardes, two or three packs of French paper. Whatsoever became of the treasure which usually is brought in roials of plate in this gallion, we could not find it. After that the mariners had disordredly pilled this rich shippe, the Captaine because they would not follow his commandement to unlade those excellent wines into the Edward, abandoned her & let her drive at Sea, taking out of her the choisest things that she had. And doubting the forces of Malaca, we departed thence to a Baie in the kingdom of Jun-salaom, which is betweene Malacca and Pegu eight degrees to the Northward, to seeke for pitch to trimme our ship. Here we sent our souldier, which the captaine of the aforesaid galion had left behind him with us, because he had the Malaian language, to deale with the people for pitch, which hee did faithfully, and procured us some two or three quintals with promise of more, and certaine of the people came unto us. We sent commodities to their king to barter for Amber-griese, and for the hornes of Abath, whereof the king onely hath the traffique in his hands. Now this Abath is a beast which hath one hornè onely in her forehead, and is thought to be the female Unicorne, and is highly esteemed of all the Moores in those parts as a most soveraigne remedie against poyson. We had onely two or three of these hornes which are of the colour of a browne gray, and some reasonable quantitie of Amber-griese. At last the king went about to betray our Portugall with our merchandise: but he to get aboard us, told him that we had gilt armour, shirtes of maile and halberds, which things they greatly desire: for hope whereof he let him returne aboard, and so he escaped the danger. Thus we left this coast and went backe againe in sight of Sumatra, and thence to the Ilands of Nicubar, where we arrived and found them inhabited with Moores, and after wee came to an anker, the people daily came aboard us in their Canoas, with hennes, Cocos, plantans and other fruits: and within two dayes they brought unto us roials of plate, giving us them for Calicut cloth: which roials they finde by diving for them in the Sea, which were lost not long before in two Portugall ships which were bound for China and were cast away there. They call in their language the Coco

Calambe, the Plantane Pison, a Hen Jam, a Fish Iccan, a Hog Babee. From thence we returned the 21 of November to goe for the Iland of Zeilan, and arrived there about the third of December 1592. and ankered upon the Southside in sixe fadomes water, where we lost our anker, the place being rockie and foule ground. Then we ranne along the Southwest part of the sayd Iland, to a place called Punta del Galle, where we ankered, determining there to have remained untill the comming of the Bengala Fleet of seven or eight ships, and the Fleete of Pegu of two or three sailes, and the Portugall shippes of Tanaseri being a great Baie to the Southward of Martabam in the kingdom of Siam: which ships, by divers intelligences which we had, were to come that way within foureteene dayes to bring commodities to serve the Caraks, which commonly depart from Cochin for Portugall by the middest of Januarie. The commodities of the shippes which come from Bengala bee fine pavillions for beds, wrought quilts, fine Calicut cloth, Pintados and other fine workes, and Rice, and they make this voiage twice in the yeere. Those of Pegu bring the chieftest stones, as Rubies and Diamants, but their chiefe freight is Rice and certaine cloth. Those of Tanaseri are chiefly freighted with Rice and Nipar wine, which is very strong, and in colour like unto rocke water somewhat whitish, and very hote in taste like unto Aqua vitæ. Being shot up to the place aforesayd, called Punta del Galle, wee came to an anker in foule ground and lost the same, and lay all that night a drift, because we had nowe but two ankers left us, which were unstocked and in hold. Whereupon our men tooke occasion to come home, our Captaine at that time lying very sicke more like to die then to live. In the morning wee set our foresaile determining to lie up to the Northward and there to keepe our selves to and againe out of the current, which otherwise would have set us off to the Southward from all known land. Thus having set our foresayle, and in hand to set all our other sayles to accomplish our aforesayd determination, our men made answeere that they would take their direct course for England and would stay there no longer. Nowe seeing they could not bee perswaded by any meanes possible, the captaine was constrained to give his consent to returne, leaving all hope of so great possibilities. Thus the eight of December 1592. wee set sayle

for the Cape of Buona Speransa, passing by the Ilands of Maldiva, and leaving the mightie Iland of S. Laurence on the starreboord or Northward in the latitude of 26 degrees to the South. In our passage over from S. Laurence to the maine we had exceeding great store of Bonitos and Albocores, which are a greater kind of fish: of which our captain, being now recovered of his sicknesse, tooke with an hooke as many in two or three howers as would serve fortie persons a whole day. And this skole of fish continued with our ship for the space of five or sixe weekes, all which while we tooke to the quantitie aforesayd, which was no small refreshing to us. In February 1593. we fell with the Eastermost land of Africa at a place called Baia de Agoa some 100 leagues to the Northeast of the Cape of Good Hope: and finding the winds contrary, we spent a moneth or five weekes before we could double the Cape. After wee had doubled it in March folowing, wee directed our course for the Iland of Santa Helena, and arrived there the third day of Aprill, where wee staid to our great comfort nineteene dayes: in which meane space some one man of us tooke thirtie goodly Congers in one day, and other rockie fishe and some Bonitos. After our arrivall at Santa Helena, I Edmund Barker went on shore with foure or five Peguins or men of Pegu which we had taken, and our Surgion, where in an house by the Chappell I found an Englishman one John Segar of Burie in Suffolke, who was left there eightene moneths before by Abraham Kendall, who put in there with the Roiall marchant, and left him there to refresh him on the Iland, being otherwise like to have perished on shipboord: and at our comming wee found him as fresh in colour and in as good plight of body to our seeming as might be, but crazed in minde and halfe out of his wits, as afterward wee perceived: for whether he were put in fright of us, not knowing at first what we were, whether friends or foes, or of sudden joy when he understood we were his olde consorts and countrey men, hee became idle-headed, and for eight dayes space neither night nor day tooke any naturall rest, and so at length died for lacke of sleepe. Here two of our men, whereof the one was diseased with the skurvie, and the other had bene nine moneths sicke of the fluxe, in short time while they were on the Iland, recovered their perfect health. We found in this place great store of very holesome and



excellent good greene figs, oranges, and lemons very faire, abundance of goates and hogs, and great plentie of partridges, Guiniecocks, and other wilde foules. Our mariners somewhat discontented being now watered and having some provision of fish, contrary to the will of the capitaine, would straight home. The capitaine because he was desirous to goe for Phernambuc in Brasil, granted their request. And about the 12 of Aprill 1593. we departed from S. Helena, and directed our course for the place aforesayd. The next day our capitaine calling upon the sailers to finish a foresaile which they had in hand, some of them answered that unlesse they might goe directly home, they would lay their hands to nothing; whereupon he was constrained to folow their humour. And from thence-foorth we directed our course for our countrey, which we kept untill we came 8 degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, betweene which 8 degrees and the line, we spent some sixe weekes, with many calme and contrary winds at North, and somtimes to the Eastward, & somtimes to the Westward: which losse of time and expense of our victuals, whereof we had very smal store, made us doubt to keepe our course: and some of our men growing into a mutinie threatned to breake up other mens chests, to the overthrow of our victuals and all our selves, for every man had his share of his victuals before in his owne custody, that they might be sure what to trust to, and husband it more thriftily. Our capitaine seeking to prevent this mischiefe, being advertised by one of our companie which had bene at the Ile of Trinidada in M. Chidleis voyage, that there we should be sure to have refreshing, hereupon directed his course to that Iland, and not knowing the currents, we were put past it in the night into the gulfe of Paria in the beginning of June, wherein we were 8 dayes, finding the current continually setting in, and oftentimes we were in 3 fadomes water, and could find no going out until the current had put us over to the Westernside under the maine land, where we found no current at all, and more deep water; and so keeping by the shore, the wind off the shore every night did helpe us out to the Northward. Being cleare, within foure or five dayes after we fell with the Ile of Mona where we ankred and rode some eightene dayes. In which time the Indians of Mona gave us some refreshing. And in the meane space there arrived a French ship of

Cane in which was capitaine one Monsieur de Barbaterre, of whom wee bought some two butts of wine and bread, and other victuals. Then wee watered and fitted our shippe, and stopped a great leake which broke on us as we were beating out of the gulfe of Paria. And having thus made ready our ship to goe to Sea, we determined to goe directly for New-found-land. But before wee departed, there arose a storme the winde being Northerly, which put us from an anker and forced us to the Southward of Santo Domingo. This night we were in danger of shipwracke upon an Iland called Savona, which is environed with flats lying 4 or 5 miles off: yet it pleased God to cleare us of them, & so we directed our course Westward along the Iland of Santo Domingo, and doubled Cape Tiberon, and passed through the old chanell betweene S. Domingo and Cuba for the cape of Florida: And here we met againe with the French ship of Caen, whose Captaine could spare us no more victuals, as he said, but only hides which he had taken by traffike upon those Ilands, wherewith we were content and gave him for them to his good satisfaction. After this, passing the Cape of Florida, and cleere of the chanell of Bahama, we directed our course for the banke of Newfound-land. Thus running to the height of 36 degrees, and as farre to the East as the Isle of Bermuda the 17 of September finding the winds there very variable, contrarie to our expectation and all mens writings, we lay there a day or two the winde being northerly, and increasing continually more and more, it grewe to be a storme and a great frete of wind: which continued with us some 24 houres, with such extremitie, as it caried not onely our sayles away being furled, but also made much water in our shippe, so that we had sixe foote water in holde, and having freed our ship thereof with baling, the winde shifted to the Northwest and became duller: but presently upon it the extremitie of the storme was such that with the labouring of the ship we lost our foremaste, and our ship grewe as full of water as before. The storme once ceased, and the winde contrary to goe our course, we fell to consultation which might be our best way to save our lives. Our victuals now being utterly spent, & having eaten hides 6 or 7 daies, we thought it best to beare back againe for Dominica, & the Islands adjoyning, knowing that there we might have some reliefe, whereupon we turned backe

for the said Islands. But before we could get thither the winde scanted upon us, which did greatly endanger us for lacke of fresh water and victuals: so that we were constrained to beare up to the Westward to certaine other Ilandes called the Nueblas or cloudie Ilands, towards the Ile of S. Juan de porto Rico, where at our arrivall we found land-crabs and fresh water, and tortoysses, which come most on lande about the full of the moone. Here having refreshed our selves some 17 or 18 dayes, and having gotten some small store of victuals into our ship, we resolved to returne againe for Mona: upon which our determination five of our men left us, remaining still on the Iles of Nueblas for all perswasions that we could use to the contrary, which afterward came home in an English shippe. From these Iles we departed and arrived at Mona about the twentieth of November 1593, and there comming to an anker toward two or three of the clocke in the morning, the Captaine, and Edmund Barker his Lieuetenant with some few others went on land to the houses of the olde Indian and his three sonnes, thinking to have gotten some foode, our victuals being all spent, and we not able to proceede any further untill we had obteyned some new supply. We spent two or three daies in seeking provision to cary aboard to relieve the whole companie. And comming downe to go aboard, the winde then being northerly and the sea somewhat growne, they could not come on shore with the boate, which was a thing of small succour and not able to rowe in any rough sea, whereupon we stayed untill the next morning, thinking to have had lesse winde and safer passage. But in the night about twelve of the clocke our ship did drive away with five men and a boy onely in it, our carpenter secretly cut their owne cable, leaving nineteene of us on land without boate or any thing, to our great discomfort. In the middest of these miseries reposing our trust in the goodnesse of God, which many times before had succoured us in our greatest extremities, we contented our selves with our poore estate, and sought meanes to preserve our lives. And because one place was not able to sustaine us, we tooke our leaves one of another, dividing our selves into severall companies. The greatest reliefe that we sixe which were with the Captaine could finde for the space of nine and twentie dayes was the stalkes of purselaine boyled in water, and nowe and then a pompion,

which we found in the garden of the olde Indian, who upon this our second arrivall with his three sonnes stole from us, and kept himselfe continually aloft in the mountaines. After the ende of nine and twentie dayes we espied a French shippe, which afterwarde we understood to be of Diepe, called the Luisa, whose Captaine was one Mounsieur Felix, unto whom wee made a fire, at sight whereof he tooke in his topsayles, bare in with the land, and shewed us his flagge, whereby we judged him French : so comming along to the Western end of the Island there he ankered, we making downe with all speede unto him. At this time the Indian and his three sonnes came done to our Captaine Master James Lancaster, and went along with him to the shippe. This night he went aboard the French man, who gave him good entertainment, and the next day fetched eleven more of us aboard entreating us all very courteously. This day came another French shippe of the same towne of Diepe which remayned there untill night expecting our other seven mens comming downe : who, albeit we caused certaine pieces of ordinance to be shot off to call them, yet came not downe. Whereupon we departed thence, being devided sixe into one ship, and sixe into another, and leaving this Island, departed for the Northside of Saint Domingo, where we remained untill Aprill following 1594, and spent some two monethes in traffike with the inhabitants by permission for hides and other marchandises of the Countrey. In this meane while there came a shippe of New-haven to the place where we were, whereby we had intelligence of our seven men which wee left behinde us at the Isle of Mona : which was, that two of them brake their neckes with ventring to take foules upon the clifles, other three were slaine by the Spaniards, which came from Saint Domingo, upon knowledge given by our men which went away in the Edward, the other two this man of New-haven had with him in his shippe, which escaped the Spaniards bloodie hands. From this place Captaine Lancaster and his Lieutenant Master Edmund Barker, shipped themselves in another shippe of Diepe, the Captaine whereof was one John La Noe, which was readie first to come away, and leaving the rest of their companie in other ships, where they were well intreated, to come after him, on sunday the seventh of Aprill 1594 they set homewarde, and disbocking through the Cajicos from thence arrived safely in Diepe within two

and fortie dayes after, on the 19 of May, where after we had stayed two dayes to refresh our selves, and given humble thankes unto God, and unto our friendly neighbours, we tooke passage for Rie and landed there on Friday the 24 of May 1594, having spent in this voyage three yeeres, sixe weekes and two dayes, which the Portugales performe in halfe the time, chiefly because wee lost our fit time and season to set foorth in the beginning of our voyage.

We understood in the East Indies by certaine Portugales which we tooke, that they have lately discovered the coast of China to the latitude of nine and fiftie degrees, finding the sea still open to the Northward: giving great hope of the Northeast or Northwest passage. Witnessse Master James Lancaster.

Certaine remembrances of an intended voyage to Brasill, and the River of Plate, by the Edward Cotton, a ship of 260 Tunnes of Master Edward Cotton of Southhampton, which perished through extreme negligence neare Rio grande in Guinie, the 17 of July 1583.

ARTICLES of Covenants agreed upon betweene Edward Cotton Esquier, owner of the good ship called the Edward Cotton of Southhampton, and of all the marchandizes in her laden, of the one part, and William Huddie gentleman, Captaine of the said ship, John Hooper his Lieutenant, John Foster Master, Hugh Smith Pilot for the whole voyage, and William Cheesman marchant, on the other part.

1 To observe and keepe the dayly order of Common prayer aboard the ship, and the companie to be called thereunto, at the least once in the day, to be pronounced openly.

2 Item, that they be ready with the first faire winde, to set saile and sailes in the voyage, and not to put into any port or harbour, but being forcibly constrained by weather, or other apparant and urgent cause.

3 Item, that they take in, at or about the Isles of Cape Verde, to the quantitie of 25 or 30 tuns of salt, to be employed among other the owners marchandize, at Santos, and S. Vincent, to his onely behoofe, and the rest of the salt, so much as shall be needed for victuall, and for saving of the hides to be kept aboard, & the same salt

to be provided either at the fishermens hands neere the said Isles for trucke of commodities, or els to be taken in at the aforesaid Isles, at the discretion of the above-named.

4 Item, upon the due performance of this voiage, the owner bindeth himselfe by this deede, to yeeld unto any such of the companie, as shall refuse their shares before they depart from the coast of England, 20 markes a single share, for the dutie of the whole voiage, making not above 75. shares single in the whole.

5 Item, the company according as they be appointed by the officers of the said ship above named, shall at all times be most ready to doe their painfull indevor, not onely aboard, but in all labours at the land, according to the direction given by the above named officers, upon paine of forfeiture of their shares and wages, the same to be divided amongst the company.

6 Item, that the shares be taken at their returne out of al the traine oile, and hides of the seales, and of all other commodities gotten by their handie labour, and of the salt that shall be vended and other commodities, at, or neere the coast of Brasill, to allow after 9 li. the tunne freight, whereof one third to goe to the companie.

7 Item, that if any man shall practise by any devise or devises whatsoever, to alter the voiage from the true purpose and intent of the owner, viz. to make their first port at Santos, and Saint Vincent, and there to revictuall and traffike, and from thence to the river of Plate to make their voyage by the traine, and hide of the seales, with such other commodities as are there to be had, according as the owner, with divers that have government in the said ship, are bound to her highnesse by their deedes obligatorie in great summes, that all such practisers, upon due prooffe made, shall loose their whole intertainment due by shares or otherwise for this sayde voyage to be adjudged by the Captaine, his Lieutenant, the Master, Pilot, and marchant, or three of them at the least, whereof the Captaine to be one.

8 Item, that the pinnesse be ready at al times to serve the marchants turne upon his demand, to take in wares and commodities, and to cary and recary to and from the shore, when, and as oft as neede shall be, and to give due attendance at the marchant and marchants direction, during the whole voyage.



9 Item, that no head or chiefe officer being set downe for such an officer under the hand of the owner, at the going to sea of the said shippe, shall or may be displaced from his said place or office, without great cause, and his misdemeanour to be adjudged by the Captaine, and his Lieutenant, the Master, the Pilot, and the marchant, or by the consent of three of them at the least.

10 Item, that upon the returne of the shippe to the coast of England, the Maister and Pilot put not into any port or harbour, to the Westward of Southhampton, but forced by weather, or such like urgent cause.

William Huddie.

John Foster.

John Hooper.

William Cheesman.

Hugh Smith.

A direction as well for the Captaine, and other my friends of the ship, as especially for William Cheesman Marchant, for the voyage to the river of Plate.

At your comming to the Isle of Saint Sebastian, upon the coast of Brasill, you shall according to your discretions, make sale of such commodities, as you may thinke will be thereabout well vented, and likewise to buy commodities without making longer stay there then your victuals be providing, but rather to bespeake commodities against your returne from the river of Plate, especially of Amber, Sugar, Greene ginger, Cotton wooll, and some quantitie of the peppers of the countrey there. Also for Parats and Munkies, and the beast called Serrabosa. Also you shall barrell up of the beefe called Petune, two or three barrells, and to lose no good opportunitie, to gather of the Indian figges, and the graines of them to preserve drie, in such quantitie as conveniently may be done: and touching the making of the traine, and preserving of the hides, I leave it wholly to the order and the discretion of the chiefe of the companie. Also that in any road where the ship shall ride upon the coast of America, triall be made with the dragges, for the pearle Oisters, and the same being taken, to be opened and searched for pearle in the presence of the Captaine, his Lieutenant, the Master, the Pilot, and marchant, or three of them, whereof the Captaine or his Lieutenant to be one, and to remaine in the custodie of the Captaine and marchant, under two lockes, either of them to have a key to his owne locke, and that a true inventorie be delivered also to the Master

and Pilot of the said pearle or other jewels of price gotten in the said voiage, to the intent that no partie be defrauded of his due, and that no concealment be made of any such thing upon forfeiture, the partie to lose his share and dutie for the voyage that shall so conceale and not reveale it unto the officers above named. Also to doe your best indeavour to try for the best Ore of golde, silver, or other rich mettals whatsoever. Forget not also to bring the kernels and seeds of strange plants with you, the Palmito with his fruit inclosed in him. Serve God, keepe good watch, and stand alwayes upon your garde.

Edward Cotton.

These things being thus ordered, and the ship of the burden of 260 tunnes, with 83 men of all sortes furnished, and fully appointed for the voyage, began to set saile from Hurst Castle upon Friday the 20 of May, Anno 1583, and the 17 day of July ensuing fell with the coast of Guinie, to take in fresh water, where, through meere dissolute negligence, she perished upon a sand, with the most part of the men in her, as appeareth by the confession of one that escaped, the substance and tenor whereof is this.

■

The confession of William Bends Masters Mate in the Edward Cotton, the 21 of October, Ann. 1584.

He sayth, that the 17 day of July, Anno 1583. having some lacke of fresh water, they put roome upon the coast of Guinie, where they were set upon a sand about 8 leagues from the shore, and this Examine, with 29 more, got into the pinnesse, who arrived in an Island, being desolate of people, and five miles in compasse, where they rested 18 dayes through force of weather, having nought to eate but grasse. The rest of the company the ship being splitted in two, and in quarters, got them into one of the after quarters, and by the helpe of raftes came also a shore into another Island neere to Rio grande, where they all died as he supposeth.

The other 30 in the pinnesse, at the end of 18 dayes, departed that Island, and came to Saint Domingo, where comming on shore, they were taken of the Moores, & stripped naked. And they buried one Coxé an olde man alive, notwithstanding his pitifull lamentation and skrikings: the rest having Rice and water allowed them, lived

there a certaine time. This Examine was at last sold to a Portugall, with whom he dwelt the space of a quarter of a yere, and in the end, a Portugall Caravel comming thither, his master laded the same with Negroes, and he obtained leave of his master to goe in the same Caravell, & by that meanes arrived at Lisbone, and from thence came into England the 17 of October, 1584, leaving behinde him of his companie alive, Richard Hacker, John Baker, John Mathew, and a boy, with two others which were gone beyond Saint Domingo: all which, as he saith, were so sicke and diseased, that he judgeth them to be long before this time dead.

The escape of the Primrose a tall ship of London, from before the towne of Bilbao in Biscay: which ship the Corrigidor of the same Province, accompanied with 97 Spaniards, offered violently to arrest, and was defeated of his purpose, and brought prisoner into England.

Whereunto is added the Kings Commission for a generall imbargment or arrest of all English, Netherlandish, and Easterlings ships, written in Barcelona the 19 of May 1585.

It is not unknowen unto the world what danger our English shippes have lately escaped, how sharply they have beene intreated, and howe hardly they have beene assaulted: so that the valiancie of those that mannaged them is worthy remembrance. And therefore in respect of the couragious attempt and valiant enterprise of the ship called the Primrose of London, which hath obtained renowne, I have taken in hande to publish the trueth thereof, to the intent that it may be generally knowen to the rest of the English ships, that by the good example of this the rest may in time of extremitie adventure to doe the like: to the honour of the Realme, and the perpetuall remembrance of themselves: The maner whereof was as followeth.

UPON Wednesday being the sixe and twentieth day of May 1585, the shippe called the Primrose being of one hundred and fiftie tunnes, lying without the bay of Bilbao, having beene there two dayes, there came a Spanish pinnesse to them, wherein was the Corrigidor and sixe others with him: these came aboard the Primrose, seeming to be Marchantes of Biscay, or such like, bringing Cherries with

them, and spake very friendly to the Maister of the ship, whose name was Foster, and he in courteous wise bad them welcome, making them the best cheere that he could with beere, beefe, and bisket, wherewith that ship was well furnished: and while they were thus in banquetting with the Maister, foure of the seven departed in the sayd Pinnesse, and went backe againe to Bilbao: the other three stayed, and were very pleasant for the time. But Master Foster misdoubting some danger secretly gave speech that he was doubtfull of these men what their intent was; neverthesse he sayd nothing, nor seemed in any outward wise to mistrust them at all. Foorthwith there came a ship-boate wherein were seventie persons being Marchants and such like of Biscay: and besides this boate, there came also the Pinnesse which before had brought the other three, in which Pinnesse there came foure and twentie, as the Spaniards themselves since confessed. These made towards the Primrose, and being come thither, there came aboard the Corrigidor with three or foure of his men: but Master Foster seeing this great multitude desired that there might no more come aboard, but that the rest should stay in their boates, which was granted: neverthesse they tooke small heede of these wordes; for on a suddaine they came foorth of the boate, entring the shippe, every Spaniarde taking him to his Rapier which they brought in the boate, with other weapons, and a drumme wherewith to triumph over them. Thus did the Spaniards enter the shippe, plunging in fiercely upon them, some planting themselves under the decke, some entring the Cabbens, and a multitude attending their pray. Then the Corrigidor having an officer with him which bare a white wand in his hand, sayd to the master of the ship: Yeeld your selfe, for you are the kings prisoner: whereat the Maister sayd to his men, We are betrayed. Then some of them set daggers to his breast, and seemed in furious manner as though they would have slaine him, meaning nothing lesse then to doe any such act, for all that they sought was to bring him and his men safe alive to shore. Whereat the Maister was amazed, and his men greatly discomfited to see themselves readie to be conveyed even to the slaughter: notwithstanding some of them respecting the daunger of the Maister, and seeing how with themselves there was no way but present death if they were once landed among

the Spaniards, they resolved themselves eyther to defend the Maister, and generally to shunne that daunger, or else to die and be buried in the middest of the sea, rather then to suffer themselves to come into the tormentors hands: and therefore in very bold and manly sort some tooke them to their javelings, lances, bore-speares, and shot, which they had set in readinesse before, and having five Calievers readie charged, which was all the small shot they had, those that were under the hatches or the grate did shoote up at the Spaniards that were over their heads, which shot so amazed the Spaniards on the suddaine, as they could hardly tell which way to escape the daunger, fearing this their small shot to be of greater number then it was: others in very manlike sort dealt about among them, shewing themselves of that courage with bore-speares and lances, that they dismayed at every stroke two or three Spaniards. Then some of them desired the Maister to commaund his men to cease and holde their handes, but hee answered that such was the courage of the English Nation in defence of thier owne lives, that they would slay them and him also: and therefore it lay not in him to doe it. Now did their bloode runne about the ship in great quantitie, some of them being shot in betweene the legges, the bullets issuing foorth at their breasts, some cut in the head, some thrust into the bodie, and many of them very sore wounded, so that they came not so fast in on the one side, but now they tumbled as fast over boord on both sides with their weapons in their handes, some falling into the sea, and some getting into their boates, making haste towards the Citie. And this is to be noted, that although they came very thicke thither, there returned but a small companie of them, neither is it knowen as yet how many of them were slaine or drowned, onely one English man was then slaine, whose name was John Tristram, and sixe other hurt. It was great pitie to behold how the Spaniards lay swimming in the sea, and were not able to save their lives. Foure of them taking holde of the shippe were for pities sake taken up againe by Maister Foster and his men, not knowing what they were: all the Spaniards bosomes were stuf with paper, to defend them from the shot, and these foure having some wounds were drest by the surgion of the shippe. One of them was the Corrigidor himselfe, who is governour of a hundred Townes and Cities in Spaine, his living

by his office being better then sixe hundred pound yerely. This skirmish happened in the evening about sixe of the clocke, after they had laden twentie Tunne of goods and better out of the sayd ship: which goods were delivered by two of the same ship, whose names were John Burrell, and John Brodbanke, who being on shore were apprehended and stayed.

After this valiant enterprise of eight and twentie English men against 97 Spaniardes, they saw it was in vaine for them to stay and therefore set up sayles, and by Gods providence avoyded all danger, brought home the rest of their goods, and came thence with all expedition: and (God be thanked) arrived safely in England neere London on Wednesday being the 8 day of June, 1585. In which their returne to England the Spaniards that they brought with them offered five hundred crownes to be set on shore in any place: which, seeing the Maister would not doe, they were content to be ruled by him and his companie, and craved mercie at their hands. And after Master Foster demaunded why they came in such sort to betray and destroy them, the Corrigidor answered, that it was not done onely of themselves, but by the commandement of the king himselfe; and calling for his hose which were wet, did plucke foorth the kings Commission, by which he was authorized to doe all that he did: The Copie whereof followeth, being translated out of Spanish.

The Spanish kings commission for the generall imbargment or arrest of the English, &c.

LICENTIAT de Escobar, my Corigidor of my Signorie of Biskay, I have caused a great fleete to be put in readinesse in the haven of Lisbone, and the river of Sivill. There is required for the Souldiers, armour, victuals, and munition, that are to bee employed in the same great store of shipping of all sortes against the time of service, and to the end there may be choise made of the best, upon knowledge of their burden and goodnesse; I doe therefore require you, that presently upon the arrivall of this carrier, and with as much dissimulation as may be (that the matter may not be knowen untill it be put in execution) you take order for the staying and arresting (with great foresight) of all the shipping that may be found upon the coast, and in the portes of the sayd Signorie, excepting none of Holand, Zeland, Easterland,



Germanie, England, and other Provinces that are in rebellion against mee, saving those of France which being litle, and of small burden and weake, are thought unfit to serve the turne. And the stay being thus made, you shall have a speciall care that such marchandize as the sayd shippes or hulkes have brought, whether they be all or part unladen, may bee taken out, and that the armour, munition, tackels, sayles, and victuals may be safely bestowed, as also that it may be well foreseene, that none of the shippes or men may escape away. Which things being thus executed, you shall advertise me by an expresse messenger, of your proceeding therein : And send me a plaine and distinct declaration of the number of ships that you shall have so stayed in that coast and partes, whence every one of them is, which belong to my Rebels, what burthen & goods there are, and what number of men is in every of them, and what quantitie they have of armour, ordinance, munition, victuals, tacklings and other necessities, to the end that upon sight hereof, having made choise of such as shall be fit for the service, we may further direct you what ye shall do. In the meane time you shall presently see this my commandement put in execution, and if there come thither any more ships, you shall also cause them to be stayed and arrested after the same order, using therein such care and diligence, as may answere the trust that I repose in you, wherein you shall doe me great service. Dated at Barcelona the 29 of May. 1585.

And thus have you heard the trueth and manner thereof, wherein is to be noted the great courage of the maister, and the loving hearts of the servants to save their master from the daunger of death: yea, and the care which the master had to save so much of the owners goods as hee might, although by the same the greatest is his owne losse in that he may never travell to those parts any more without the losse of his owne life, nor yet any any of his servantes : for if hereafter they should, being knowen they are like to taste of the sharpe torments which are there accustomed in their Holy-house. And as for their terming English shippes to be in rebellion against them, it is sufficiently knowen by themselves, and their owne consciences can not denie it, but that with love, unitie, and concord, our shippes have ever beene favour-

able unto them, and as willing to pleasure their King, as his subjectes any way willing to pleasure English passengers.

The Letters patents or priviledges granted by her Majestie to certaine Noble men and Marchants of London, for a trade to Barbarie, in the yeere 1585.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the Treasurer & Barons of our Eschequer, and to al Maiors, shirifs, constables, customers, collectors of our customes and subsidies, controllers, searchers, and keepers of our havens and creekes, ports and passages, within this our realme of England and the dominions of the same, and to al our officers, ministers and subjects, and to all other whosoever to whom it shall or may appertaine, and to every of them greeting. Whereas it is made evidently and apparantly knowen unto us, that of late yeeres our right trustie and right welbeloved councellors, Ambrose Erle of Warwike, and Robert Erle of Leicester, and also our loving and naturall subjects, Thomas Starkie of our citie of London Alderman, Jerard Gore the elder, and all his sonnes, Thomas Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Avenon, Richard Staper, William Jennings, Arthur Dawbeney, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthony Garrard, Robert How, Henry Colthirst, Edward Holmden, John Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliver Stile, William Bond, Henrie Farrington, John Tedcastle, Walter Williams, William Brune, John Suzan, John Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afield, Robert Washborne, Reinold Guy, Thomas Hitchcocke, George Lydiat, John Cartwright, Henry Paiton, John Boldroe, Robert Bowyer, Anthonie Dassell, Augustine Lane, Robert Lion, and Thomas Dod, all of London, Marchants now trading into the Countrey of Barbary, in the parts of Africa, under the government of Muly Hammet Sheriffe, Emperor of Marocco, and king of Fesse and Sus, have sustained great and grievous losses, and are like to sustaine greater if it should not be prevented: In tender consideration whereof, and for that divers Marchandize of the same Countries are very necessary and convenient for the use and defence of this our Realme of England, and for divers other causes us specially moving, minding the

reliefe and benefite of our said subjects, and the quiet trafique and good government to be had, and used among them in their said trade, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors, doe give and grant unto the saide Earles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, Jerard Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Avenon, Richard Staper, William Jennings, Arthur Dawbenie, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthonie Gerrard, Robert Howe, Henry Colthirst, Edward Holmden, John Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliver Stile, William Bond, Henry Farrington, John Tedcastle, Walter Williams, William Brune, John Suzan, John Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afild, Robert Washborne, Rainold Guie, Thomas Hitchcocke, George Lidiate, John Cartwright, Henry Payton, John Baldroe, Robert Bowyer, Anthony Dassell, Augustine Lane, Robert Lion, and Thomas Dod, that they and every of them by themselves or by their factors or servants, and none others, shall and may, for, and during the space of 12. yeeres, have and enjoy the whole freedome and libertie in the saide trafique or trade, unto or from the said countrey of Barbary, or to or from any part thereof, for the buying and selling of all maner of wares and marchandizes whatsoever, that now or accustomedly heretofore have bene brought or transported, from, or to the cities, townes, places, ports, roades, havens, harbors or said country of Barbary, or from or to any of the creeks of the said country of Barbary, any law, statute, graunt, matter, customes or privileges, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And for the better establishing, ordering and governing of the said Erles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, &c. abovesaid, their factors, servants and assignes in the trade aforesaid, we for us our heires and successors, doe by these presents give and graunt full licence to the saide Thomas Starkie, Jerard Gore the elder, and the rest aforesaide, and to every of them from time to time, during the said terme of twelve yeres, at their pleasures to assemble and meete together in any place or places convenient within our citie of London, or elsewhere, to consult of, and for the said trade, and with the consent of the said Erle of Leicester, to make and

establish good and necessary orders and ordinances, for, and touching the same, and al such orders and ordinances so made, to put in ure and execute, and them or any of them with the consent of the said Erle of Leicester, to alter, change and make voyde, and if need be, to make new, as at any time during the saide terme, they or the most part of them then living and trading, shall finde convenient.

Provided alwayes, that the ordinances or any of them bee not contrary or repugnant to the lawes, statutes or customes of this our Realme of England. And to the intent that they onely to whom the said libertie of trafique is graunted by these our Letters patents, and none other our Subjects whatsoever, without their special consent and licence before had, should during the said terme have trade or trafique for any maner of Marchandizes, to, or from the said countrey of Barbary, or to, or from any Citie, towne, place, port, harbor or creeke within the said countrey of Barbary, to, or out of our said Realmes and dominions, wee doe by these presents straightly charge, commaund, and prohibite all and every our Subjects whatsoever, other then only the said Erles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, and the rest abovesaid, and every of them by themselves, or by their Factors or servants during the saide terme, to trade or trafique, for or with any marchandize, to, or from the saide Countrey of Barbary, or to, or from any the dominions of the same, as they tender our favour, and will avoyde our high displeasure, and upon paine of imprisonment of his and their bodies, at our will and pleasure, and of forfeiting all the marchandizes, or the full value thereof, wherewith they or any of them during the saide terme, shall trade or trafique to or from the said countrey of Barbary, or to, or from the dominions of the same, contrary to this our privilege and prohibition, unlesse it be by and with the expresse licence, consent, and agreement of the saide Erles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, Jerard Gore the elder, and all his sonnes, Thomas Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Avenon, Richard Straper, William Jennings, Arthur Dawbnie, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthonie Gerrard, Robert Howe, Henry Colthirst, Edward Holmden, John Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliver Stile,

William Bond, Henry Farington, John Tedcastle, Walter Williams, William Brune, John Suzan, John Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afield, Robert Washborne, Rainold Guy, Thomas Hitchcock, George Lidiate, &c. or by, and with the expresse licence and consent of the more part of them then living and trading, first had and obtained, so alwayes, that the sayd Earle of Leicester be one, if hee bee living.

And we further for us our heires and successors of our speciall grace, meere motion and certaine knowledge, do graunt to the said Erles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, and the rest abovesaid, and to every of them, that nothing shall be done, to be of force or validitie touching the said trade or trafique, or the exercise thereof, without or against the consent of the saide Erles, Thomas Starkie, (and the others before named) during the time of these our Letters patents for 12. yeeres as aforesaid.

And for that the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and every of them aforesaid should not be prevented or interrupted in this their said trade, we do by these presents for us, our heires and successours, straightly prohibite and forbid all maner of person or persons, as well strangers of what nation or countrey soever, as our owne Subjects, other then onely the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and every of them as aforesaid, that they nor any of them from hencefoorth during the said terme of 12. yeeres, do or shall bring, or cause to be brought into this our Realme of England, or to any the dominions thereof, any maner of marchandizes whatsoever growing, or being made within the said Countrey of Barbary, or within any the dominions thereof, unlesse it be by and with the licence, consent and agreement of the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or with the consent and licence of the more part of them then living, first had and obtained, so alwayes y<sup>t</sup> the sayd Erle of Leicester (if hee be living) be one, under the paine that every one that shall offend or doe against this our present prohibition here last above mentioned in these presents, shall forfeite and lose all and singular the said marchandizes to be landed in any our realmes and dominions, contrary to the tenor and true meaning of this our prohibition in that behalfe provided: the one moitie of all and every which said forfeitures whatsoever mentioned or specified in these our

present Letters patents, shalbe to us our heires & successors: And the other moiety of al and every the said forfeitures, we doe by these presents of our certaine knowledge and meere motion, clearely and wholly for us, our heires and successors, give and graunt unto the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. And these our Letters patents, upon the onely sight thereof, without any further warrant, shal bee sufficient authoritie to our Treasurer of England for the time being, to our Barons of the Exchequer, and to all other our officers that shall have to deale in this behalfe, to make full allowance unto the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. their deputies or assignes of the one moiety of all and singular the goods, marchandizes and things whatsoever mentioned in these our present Letters patents, to be forfeited at any time or times during the said terme of twelve yeres: which said allowance we doe straightly charge and commaund from time to time to be made to the sayd Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and to every of them accordingly, without any maner of delay or deniall of any of our officers whatsoever, as they tender our favour and the furtherance of our good pleasure. And wee doe straightly charge and commaund, and by these presents prohibite all and singular Customers and Collectors of our customes & subsidies, and comptrollers of the same, of, and within our Citie and port of London, and all other portes, creekes, & places within this our Realme of England, and every of them, that they ne any of them take or perceive, or cause, or suffer to be taken, received, or perceived for us & in our name, or to our use, or to ye uses of our heires or successors of any person or persons, any sum or summes of money, or other things whatsoever during the said terme of 12. yeres, for, and in the name & lieu or place of any custome, subsidy & other thing or duties to us, our heires or successors due or to be due for the customes & subsidies of any marchandizes whatsoever growing, being made or comming out of the said countrey of Barbary, or out of the dominions thereof, nor make, cause, nor suffer to be made any entrie into our or their books of customs & subsidies, nor make any agreement for the subsidies and customs, of, and for any the said marchants, saving onely with, & in the name of the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or the most part of them, as they and every of them will



answers at their uttermost perils to the contrary. And for the better and more sure observation of this our graunt, wee will, and grant for us our heires & successors by these presents, that the Treasurer & barons of our Exchequer for the time being, by force of this our graunt or enrolment thereof in the said court, at al & every time & times during the said terme of 12. yerres, at & upon request made unto them by the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or by the attorneis, factors, deputies or assignes of them, or the most part of them then living and trading, shall and may make & direct under the seale of the said Exchequer, one or moe sufficient writ or writs, close or patents, unto every or any of our said customers, collectors or controllers of our heires and successors in all and every, or to any port or ports, creeke, haven, or other places within this our realme of England, as the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or any the attorneis, factors, deputies or assignes of them or the most part of them then living and trading, shall at any time require, commaunding and straightly charging them and every of them, that they nor any of them at any time or times during the said terme of 12. yeeres, make any entrie of any wares or marchandizes whatsoever, growing, being made or comming out or from the said countrey of Barbary, or the dominions thereof, nor receive or take any custome, subsidie or other entrie, or make any agreement for the same, other then with or in the name of the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. the factor or factors, deputies or assignes of them or the most part of them then living and trading, according to this our graunt, and the true meaning thereof, and according to our saide will and pleasure before in these presents declared. In witnesse whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made patents. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the 5. day of July in the 27. yeere of our reigne.

The Ambassage of Master Henry Roberts, one of the sworne Esquires of her Majesties person, from her highnesse to Mully Hamet Emperour of Marocco and the King of Fesse, and Sus, in the yeere 1585: who remained there as Liger for the space of 3. yeeres. Written briefly by himselfe.

UPON an incorporation granted to the Company of Barbary Marchants resident in London, I Henry Roberts

one of her Majesties sworne Esquires of her person, was appointed her highnesse messenger, and Agent unto the aforesaid Mully Hamet Emperor of Marocco, king of Fesse, and Sus. And after I had received my Commission, instructions, and her Majesties letters, I departed from London the 14. of August in the yeere 1585. in a tall ship called the Ascension, in the company of the Minion and Hopewell, and we all arrived in safetie at Azafi a port of Barbary, the 14. of September next following. The Alcaide of the towne (being the kings officer there, and as it were Maior of the place) received mee with all humanitie and honour, according to the custome of the Countrey, lodging me in the chieftest house of the towne, from whence I dispatched a messenger (which in their language they call a Trottero) to advertise the Emperour of my arrivall: who immediatly gave order, and sent certaine souldiers for my guard and conduct, and horses for my selfe, and mules for mine owne and my companies carriages. Thus being accompanied with M. Richard Evans, Edward Salcot, and other English Marchants resident there in the Countrey, with my traine of Moores and carriages, I came at length to the river of Tensist, which is within foure miles of Marocco: and there by the water side I pitched my tents under the Olive trees: where I met with all the English Marchants by themselves, and the French and Flemish, and divers other Christians, which attended my comming. And after we had dined, & spent out the heat of the day, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone we all set forward toward the Citie of Marocco, where we arrived the said day, being the 14. of September, and I was lodged by the Emperours appointment in a faire house in the Judaria or Jurie, which is the place where the Jewes have their abode, and is the fairest place, and quietest lodging in all the Citie.

After I had reposed my selfe 3. dayes, I had accesse to the kings presence, delivered my message and her Majesties letters, and was received with all humanitie, and had favourable audience from time to time for three yeeres: during which space I abode there in his Court, as her Majesties Agent and Ligier: and whensoever I had occasion of businesse I was admitted either to his Majestie himselfe, or to his vice Roy, whose name was Alcaide Breme Saphiana, a very wise and discreet person,

and the chieftest about his Majestie. The particulers of my service, for divers good and reasonable causes, I forbeare here to put downe in writing.

After leave obtained, and an honourable reward bestowed by the Emperour upon me, I departed from his Court at Marocco the 18. of August 1588. toward a garden of his, which is called Shersbonare, where he promised mee I should stay but one day for his letters: howbeit, upon some occasion I was stayed until the 14. of September at the kings charges, with 40. or 50. shot attending upon me for my guard and safetie.

From thence at length I was conducted with all things necessary to the port of Santa Cruz, being sixe dayes journey from Marocco, and the place where our shippes do commonly take in their lading, where I arrived the 21. of the same moneth. In this port I stayed 43. dayes, and at length the second of November I embarked my selfe, and one Marshok Reiz a Captaine and a Gentleman, which the Emperour sent with mee upon an Ambassage to her Majestie: and after much torment and foule weather at Sea, yet New-yeres day I came on land at S. Ives in Cornwall, from whence passing by land both together up towards London, we were met without the citie with the chieftest marchants of the Barbary Company, well mounted all on horsebacke, to the number of 40. or 50. horse, and so the Ambassadour and my selfe being both in Coche, entred the citie by torchlight, on Sunday at night the 12. of January 1589.

This is a copy well and truely translated of an edict of Muley Hamet king of Fez and Emperour of Marocco, whose tenor is as followeth: to wit, that no Englishmen should be molested or made slaves in any part of his Dominions, obtained by the aforesaid M. Henry Roberts.

IN the Name of the pitifull and the mercifull God, &c. The servant of the supreme God, the conqueror in his cause, the successor advanced by God, the Emperour of the Moores, the sonne of the Emperour of the Moores, the Jariffe, the Haçeny, whose honour God long increase and advance his estate. This our princely commandement is delivered into the hands of the English marchants, which remaine in the protection of our stately palaces: to the ende that all men which shall see this present

writing, may understand that our princely counsaile wil defend them by the favor of God, from any thing that may impeach or hurt them in what sort soever they shalbe wronged: and that, which way soever they shall travaile, no man shall take them captives in these our kingdomes, ports, and places which belong unto us, which also may protect and defend them by our authoritie from any molestation whatsoever: and that no man shall hinder them by laying violent hand upon them, and shall not give occasion that they may be grieved in any sort by the favour and assistance of God. And we charge and command our officers of our havens and fortresses, and all such as beare any authoritie in these our dominions, and likewise all the common people, that in no wise they do molest them, in such sort that they be no way offended or wronged. And this our commandement shall remaine inviolable, being registred in the middest of the moneth of Rabel in the yeere 996.

The date of this letter agreeth with the 20. of March 1587. which I Abdel Rahman el Catan, interpretour for his Majestie, have translated and turned out of the Arabian into Spanish word for word as is contained therein: and in witnesse thereof have subscribed my name as aforesaid.

Abdel Rahman el Catan.

In the Name of the mercifull and pitifull God.

The blessing of God light upon our Lord and prophet Mahumet, and those that are obedient unto him.

THE servant of God both mightie in warre and mightily exalted by the grace of God Myra Momany, the son of Myra Momany, the Jariff, the Hazeni, whose kingdoms God maintaine and advance his authoritie: Unto the right famous, right noble, & right highly esteemed Erle of Leicester, after due praises given unto God, & due blessings and salutations rendred unto the prophet Mahumet. These are to give you to understand, that your letters arrived here in our royal Court, and we wel perceive the contents thereof. And your Ambassador which remaineth here in our Court told me the cause of the slownesse of the gages or pledges until this time: which reckoning we accept of, and holde our selves as satisfied. And as touching the matter wherof you write

unto us concerning John Herman, and the selfe same complaint which your Ambassador hath made of him, before the comming of your letter we had already commaunded him to be taken upon the complaint which your Ambassadour had made of him, whereupon he stil remaineth in hold, and shal so continue until further justice be done upon him according to his desert. And so our Lord keepe you in his safegard. Written at our royall court in Marocco, which God maintaine, the 20. day of the moneth Remodan, Anno 996.

The Queenes Majesties letters to the Emperour of Marocco.

RIGHT high and mightie Prince, Having understood from our Agent the great affection and good wil which you beare us, and how great honour and favor you shew him for our sake, to the end to give us more ample testimonie of your friendship, we have received very great contentment & satisfaction, aswel of the one as of the other: and withall we could not omit to magnifie you, according to your desert. We have also received your letters, and do not a litle rejoyce thereof, because they come from a prince unto whom we are so much beholden. Our Agent hath written unto us concerning certaine things which you desire to bee sent unto you from hence. And albeit we wish that we could particularly satisfie you, as you desire, yet it is fallen out, that the warres, wherein at this present we be busied, wil not suffer us fully to doe the same: neverthesse, wee have commaunded to satisfie you in part, and according as the present necessitie doeth permit us, as our Agent will declare unto you more particularly, hoping you will receive it in good part, and according to the good will wherewith wee graunt the same. And because it hath bene signified unto us that you have promised to proceed in justice against one John Herman our subject, which hath grievously offended us, in such sort as wee have sent word unto you, wee have given order to our said Agent to informe you more particularly in that which we desire to be done in this busines, praying you also to command the same to be put in execution: and that it would please you alwayes to favour our said Agent and to hold him in good credite, as you have done hitherto, not suffering your selfe to be changed in your opinion, for all the false reports which

they may raise against him, nor to doubt that wee will not accomplish at large all that he shall promise you on our behalfe. Our Lord keepe and preserve your right high and mightie person. Written in our royall Court at Greenwich the 20. of July 1587.

A voyage to the Azores with two pinases, the one called the Serpent, and the other the Mary Sparke of Plimouth, both of them belonging to Sir Walter Raleigh, written by John Evesham Gentleman, whercin were taken the governour, of the Isle of Saint Michael, and Pedro Sarmiento governour of the Straits of Magalanes, in the yeere 1586.

THE 10. of June 1586. we departed from Plimouth with two Pinases, the one named the Serpent, of the burden of 35. Tunnes, and the other the Mary Sparke of Plimouth of the burthen of 50. Tuns, both of them belonging to sir Walter Raleigh knight; and directing our course towards the coast of Spaine, & from thence towards the Isles of the Azores, we tooke a small barke laden with Sumacke and other commodities, wherein was the governour of S. Michaels Island, being a Portugal, having other Portugals and Spaniards with him. And from thence we sailed to the Island of Graciosa, to the Westward of the Island of Tercera, where we discried a saile, and bearing with her wee found her to be a Spaniard: But at the first not greatly respecting whom we tooke, so that we might have enriched our selves, which was the cause of this our travaile, and for that we would not bee known of what nation we were, wee displayed a white silke ensigne in our maine toppe, which they seeing, made accompt that we had bene some of the king of Spaines Armadas, lying in wait for English men of war: but when we came within shot of her, we tooke downe our white flagge, and spread abroad the Crosse of S. George, which when they saw, it made them to flie as fast as they might, but all their haste was in vaine, for our shippes were swifter of saile then they, which they fearing, did presently cast their ordinance and small shot with many letters, and the draft of the Straights of Magelan into the Sea, and thereupon immediatly we tooke her, wherein wee also tooke a gentleman of Spaine, named Pedro Sarmiento, governour of the Straights of Magelan, which



saide Pedro we brought into England with us, and presented him to our soveraigne Lady the Queene.

After this, lying off and about the Islands, wee descried another saile, and bearing after her, we spent the maine maste of our Admirall, but yet in the night our Vice-admirall, tooke her, being laden with fish from Cape Blanke, the which shippe wee let goe againe for want of men to bring her home. The next day we discried two other sailes, the one a shippe and the other a Caravel, to whom we gave chase, which they seeing, with all speede made in under the Isle of Graciosa, to a certaine Fort there for their succour, where they came to an anker, and having the winde of us we could not hurt them with our ships, but we having a small boate, which we called a light horseman, wherein my selfe was, being a Musqueter, and foure more with Calivers, and foure that rowed, came neere unto the shore against the winde, which when they saw us come towards them they caried a great part of their marchandise on land, whither also the men of both vessels went and landed, and as soone as we came within Musquet shot, they began to shoote at us with great ordinance and small shot, and we likewise at them, and in the ende we boorded one shippe wherein was no man left, so we cut her cables, hoysed her sailes, and sent her away with two of our men, and the other 7. of us passed more neere unto the shoare, and boorded the Caravel, which did ride within a stones cast from the shoare, and so neere the land that the people did cast stones at us, but yet in despight of them all we tooke her, and one onely Negro therein; and cutting her cables in the hawse we hoysed her sailes and being becalmed under the land, we were constrained to rowe her out with our boate, the Fort still shooting at us, and the people on land with Musquets and calivers, to the number of 150. or thereabout: and we answered them with the small force wee had; In the time of which our shooting, the shot of my Musquet being a crossebarre-shot happened to strike the gunner of the fort to death, even as he was giving levell to one of his great pieces, and thus we parted from them without any losse or hurt on our side. And now, having taken these five sailes of shippes, we did as before, turne away the shippe with the fish, without hurting them, and from one of the other shippes wee tooke her maine Maste to serve our Admirals turne, and

sent her away putting into her all the Spaniards and Portugals, (saving that gentleman Pedro Sarmiento, with three other of the principal men and two Negroes) leaving them all within sight of land, with bread and water sufficient for 10. dayes if neede were.

Thus setting our course for England, being off the Islands in the height of 41. degrees, or there about, one of our men being in the toppe discried a saile, then 10. saile, then 15. whereupon it was concluded to sende home those prizes we had, and so left in both our Pinasses not above 60. men. Thus wee returned againe to the Fleete wee had discried, where wee found 24. saile of shippes, whereof two of them were Caracks, the one of 1200. and the other of a 1000. tunnes, and 10. Galions, the rest were small shippes and Caravels all laden with Treasure, spices, and sugars, with which 24. shippes we with two small Pinasses did fight, and kept company the space of 32. houres, continually fighting with them and they with us, but the two Caracks kept still betwixt the Fleete and us, that wee could not take any one of them, so wanting powder, wee were forced to give them over against our willes, for that wee were all wholly bent to the gaining of some of them, but necessitie compelling us, and that onely for want of powder, without losse of any of our men, (which was a thing to be wondered at considering the inequalitye of number) at length we gave them over. Thus we againe set our course for England, and so come to Plimouth within 6. houres after our prizes, which we sent away 40. houres before us, where wee were received with triumphant joy, not onely with great Ordinance then shot off, but with the willing hearts of all the people of the Towne, and of the Countrey thereabout; and we not sparing our Ordinance (with the powder wee had left) to requite and answer them againe. And from thence wee brought our prizes to Southampton, where sir Walter Raleigh being our owner, rewarded us with our shares.

Our prizes were laden with sugars, Elephants teeth, waxe, hides, rice, brasill, and Cuser, as by the testimonie of John Evesham himselfe, Captaine Whiddon, Thomas Rainford, Benjamin Wood, William Cooper Master, William Cornish Master, Thomas Drake Corporall, John Ladd gunner, William Warefield gunner, Richard

Moone, John Drew, Richard Cooper of Harwich, William Beares of Ratcliffe, John Row of Saltash, and many others, may appeare.

A briefe relation of the notable service performed by Sir Francis Drake upon the Spanish Fleete prepared in the Road of Cadiz: and of his destroying of 100. saile of barks; Passing from thence all along the coast to Cape Sacre, where also hee tooke certaine Forts: and so to the mouth of the River of Lisbon, and thence crossing over to the Isle of Sant Michael, surprized a mighty Carack called the Sant Philip comming out of the East India, which was the first of that kinde that ever was seene in England: Performed in the yeere 1587.

HER Majestie being informed of a mightie preparation by Sea begunne in Spaine for the invasion of England, by good advise of her grave and prudent Counsell thought it expedient to prevent the same. Whereupon she caused a Fleete of some 30. sailes to be rigged and furnished with all things necessary. Over that Fleete she appointed Generall sir Francis Drake (of whose manifold former good services she had sufficient prooffe) to whom she caused 4. ships of her Navie royall to be delivered, to wit, The Bonaventure wherein himselfe went as General; the Lion under the conduct of Master William Borough Controller of the Navie; the Dreadnought under the command of M. Thomas Venner; and the Rainebow, captaine whereof was M. Henry Bellingham: unto which 4. ships two of her pinasses were appointed as hand-maids. There were also added unto this Fleet certaine tall ships of the Citie of London, of whose especiall good service the Generall made particular mention in his private Letters directed to her Majestie. This Fleete set saile from the sound of Plimouth in the moneth of April towards the coast of Spaine.

The 16. of the said moneth we mette in the latitude of 40. degrees with two ships of Middleborough, which came from Cadiz; by which we understood that there was great store of warlike provision at Cadiz & thereabout ready to come for Lisbon. Upon this information our Generall with al speed possible, bending himselfe thither to cut off their said forces and provisions, upon the 19. of April entered with his Fleet into the Harbor of Cadiz:

where at our first entring we were assailed over against the Towne by sixe Gallies, which notwithstanding in short time retired under their fortresse.

There were in the Road 60. ships and divers other small vessels under the fortresse: there fled about 20. French ships to Port Real, and some small Spanish vessels that might passe the sholdes. At our first coming in we sunke with our shot a ship of Ragusa of a 1000. tunnes, furnished with 40. pieces of brasse and very richly laden. There came two Gallies more from S. Mary port, and two from Porto Reale, which shot freely at us, but altogether in vaine: for they went away with the blowes well beaten for their paines.

Before night we had taken 30. of the said ships, & became Masters of the Road, in despight of the Gallies, which were glad to retire them under the Fort: in the number of which ships there was one new ship of an extraordinary hugeness in burthen above 1200. tunnes, belonging to the Marquesse of Santa Cruz being at that instant high Admiral of Spaine. Five of them were great ships of Biskay, whereof 4. we fired, as they were taking in the Kings provision of victuals for the furnishing of his Fleet at Lisbon: the fift being a ship about 1000. tunnes in burthen, laden with Iron-spikes, nailes, yron hoopess, horse-shoes, and other like necessities bound for the West Indies we fired in like maner. Also we tooke a ship of 250. tunnes laden with wines for the Kings provision, which wee caried out to the Sea with us, and there discharged the said wines for our owne store, and afterward set her on fire. Moreover we tooke 3 Flyboats of 300. tunnes a piece laden with biscuit, whereof one was halfe unladen by us in the Harborow, and there fired, and the other two we tooke in our company to the Sea. Likewise there were fired by us ten other ships which were laden with wine, raisins, figs, oiles, wheat, & such like. To conclude, the whole number of ships and barkes (as we suppose) then burnt, suncke, and brought away with us, amounted to 30. at the least, being (in our judgement) about 10000. tunnes of shipping.

There were in sight of us at Porto Real about 40. ships, besides those that fled from Cadiz.

We found little ease during our abroad there, by reason of their continuall shooting from the Gallies, the for-

tresses, and from the shoare : where continually at places convenient they planted new ordinance to offend us with : besides the inconvenience which wee suffered from their ships, which, when they could defend no longer, they set on fire to come among us. Whereupon when the flood came wee were not a little troubled to defend us from their terrible fire, which neverthelesse was a pleasant sight for us to beholde, because we were thereby eased of a great labour, which lay upon us day and night, in discharging the victuals, and other provisions of the enemye. Thus by the assistance of the Almightye, and the invincible courage and industrie of our Generall, this strange and happy enterprize was atchieved in one day and two nights, to the great astonishment of the King of Spaine, which bread such a corrosive in the heart of the Marques of Santa Cruz high Admiral of Spaine, that he never enjoyed good day after, but within fewe moneths (as may justly be supposed) died of extreame griefe and sorrow.

Thus having performed this notable service, we came out of the Road of Cadiz on the Friday morning the 21. of the said moneth of April, with very small losse not worth the mentioning.

After our departure ten of the Gallies that were in the Road came out, as it were in disdaine of us, to make some pastime with their ordinance, at which time the wind skanted upon us, whereupon we cast about againe, and stood in with the shoare, & came to anker within a league of the towne; where the said Gallies, for all their former bragging, at length suffred us to ride quietly.

We now have had experience of Gally-fight : wherein I can assure you, that onely these 4. of her Majesties ships will make no accompt of 20. Gallies, if they may be alone, and not busied to guard others. There were never Gallies that had better place and fitter opportunitie for their advantage to fight with ships : but they were still forced to retire, wee riding in a narrow gut, the place yeelding no better, and driven to maintaine the same, untill wee had discharged and fired the shippes, which could not conveniently be done but upon the flood, at which time they might drive cleare off us. Thus being victualed with bread and wine at the enemies cost for divers moneths (besides the provisions that we brought from home) our Generall dispatched Captaine Crosse into

England with his letters, giving him further in charge to declare unto her Majestie all the particularities of this our first enterprize.

After whose departure wee shaped our course toward Cape Sacre, and in the way thither wee tooke at severall times of ships, barkes, and Caravels well neere an hundred, laden with hoopes, gally-oares, pipe-staves, & other provisions of the king of Spaine, for the furnishing of his forces intended against England, al which we burned, having delt favorably with the men and sent them on shoare. We also spoiled and consumed all the fisher-boats and nets thereabouts, to their great hinderance: and (as we suppose) to the utter overthrow of the rich fishing of their Tunies for the same yere. At length we came to the aforesaid Cape Sacre, where we went on land; and the better to enjoy the benefite of the place, and to ride in harborow at our pleasure, we assailed the same castle, and three other strong holds, which we tooke some by force and some by surrender.

Thence we came before the haven of Lisbon ankering nere unto Cascais, where the Marques of Santa Cruz was with his Gallies, who seeing us chase his ships a shoare, & take and cary away his barks and Caravels, was content to suffer us there quietly to tary, and likewise to depart, and never charged us with one Canon-shot. And when our Generall sent him worde that hee was there ready to exchange certaine bullets with him, the marques refused his chalenge, sending him word, that he was not then ready for him, nor had any such Commission from his King.

Our Generall thus refused by the Marques, and seeing no more good to be done in this place, thought it convenient to spend no longer time upon this coast: and therefore with consent of the chiefe of his Company he shaped his course toward the Isles of the Açores, and passing towards the Isle of Saint Michael, within 20. or 30. leagues thereof, it was his good fortune to meete with a Portugale Carak called Sant Philip, being the same shippe which in the voyage outward had caried the 3. Princes of Japan, that were in Europe, into the Indies. This Carak without any great resistance hee tooke, bestowing the people thereof in certaine vessels well furnished with victuals, and sending them courteously home into their Countrey: and this was the first Carak



that ever was taken comming foorth of the East Indies; which the Portugals tooke for an evil signe, because the ship bare the Kings owne name.

The riches of this prize seemed so great unto the whole Company (as in trueth it was) that they assured themselves every man to have a sufficient reward for his travel: and thereupon they all resolved to returne home for England: which they happily did, and arrived in Plymouth the same Sommer with their whole Fleete and this rich booty, to their owne profite and due commendation, and to the great admiration of the whole kingdome.

And here by the way it is to be noted, that the taking of this Carak wrought two extraordinary effects in England: first, that it taught others, that Caracks were no such bugs but that they might be taken (as since indeed it hath fallen out in the taking of the Madre de Dios, and fyreing and sinking of others) and secondly in acquainting the English Nation more generally with the particularities of the exceeding riches and wealth of the East Indies: whereby themselves and their neighbours of Holland have bene encouraged, being men as skilfull in Navigation and of no lesse courage then the Portugals to share with them in the East Indies: where their strength is nothing so great as heretofore hath bene supposed.

A Patent granted to certaine Marchants of Exeter, and others of the West parts, and of London, for a trade to the River of Senega and Gambia in Guinea, 1588.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our Treasurer and Admirall of England, our Treasurer and Barons of our Exchequer, and all and every our Officers, ministers and subjects whatsoever, greeting. Whereas our wel-beloved subjects William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicolas Spicer, and John Doricot of our City of Exeter marchants, John Yong of Coliton in our county of Devon marchant, Richard Doderige of Barnestable in our saide Countie of Devon Marchant, Anthonie Dassell, and Nicolas Turner of our Citie of London Marchants, have bene perswaded and earnestly moved by certaine Portugals resident within our Dominions, to undertake and set forward a voyage to certaine places on the coast of Guinea: Videlicet, from the Northermost part of the

River commonly called by the name of the River of Senega, and from and within that River all along that coast unto the Southermost part of another River commonly called by the name of Gambra, and within that River: which, as we are informed, they have already once performed accordingly: And for that we are credibly given to understand that the further prosecuting of the same voyage, and the due and orderly establishing of an orderly trafique and trade of marchandize into those Countreys, will not only in time be very beneficial to these our Realmes and dominions, but also be a great succour and reliefe unto the present distressed estate of those Portugals, who by our princely favour live and continue here under our protection: And considering that the adventuring and enterprising of a newe trade cannot be a matter of small charge and hazard to the adventurers in the beginning: we have therefore thought it convenient, that our said loving subjects William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthonie Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, for the better encouragement to proceede in their saide adventure and trade in the said Countreys, shal have the sole use and exercise thereof for a certaine time. In consideration whereof, and for other waightie reasons and considerations us specially mooving, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, we have given and graunted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors doe give and graunt unto the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Young, Richard Doderide, Anthony Dassell and Nicholas Turner, and to every of them, and to such other our Subjects as they or the most part of them shall thinke convenient to receive into their Company and society, to be the traders with them into the said Countreys, that they and every of them by themselves or by their servants or Factors and none others, shall and may for and during the full space and terme of tenne yeeres next ensuing the date of these presents, have and enjoy the free and whole trafique, trade and feat of marchandise, to and from the said Northermost part of the said River, commonly called by the name of the River of Senega: and from and within that River all along the coast of Guinea, unto the Southermost part of the said River, commonly called by the name of the River of Gambra,

and within that River also. And that they the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassel and Nicholas Turner, & every of them, by themselves or by their servants or Factors, & such as they or the most part of them shall receive into their Company and societie, to be traders with them into the sayd Countreis (as is aforesaid) and none others, shall and may, for, and during the said space and terme of 10. yeres, have and enjoy the sole & whole trafique or trade of marchandize into and from the said places afore limited and described, for the buying & selling, bartering and changing of and with any goods, wares, and marchandizes whatsoever, to be vented had or found, at or within any the cities, townes, or places situated or being in the countries, partes & coastes of Guinea before limited, any law, statute, or graunt, matter, custome or privileges to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And for the better ordering, establishing, & governing of the said societie and Company in the said trade and trafique of marchandizes, & the quiet, orderly & lawfull exercise of the same, We for us, our heires, and successors, do by these presents give and graunt full license and authoritie unto the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicolas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthonie Dassel, and Nicholas Turner, and to such others as they shall receive into their saide societie and company to be traders into the said countreis, as is aforesaid, and to every of them, that they or the most part of them shall and may at all convenient times at their pleasures, assemble and meete together in any place or places convenient, aswell within our citie of Exeter, as elsewhere within this our Realme of England, or other our dominions, during the said terme of ten yeere, to consult of, for, and concerning the saide trade and trafique of marchandize, and from time to time to make, ordaine, and stablish good, necessary, and reasonable orders, constitutions, and ordinances, for, and touching the same trade. And al such orders, constitutions, and ordinances so to be made, to put in ure and execute, and them, or any of them, to alter, change, and make voyd, and, if neede be, to make new, as at any time, during the said terme of ten yeeres, to them, or the most part of them then trading, as is aforesaide, shall be thought necessary and convenient. Unto all and

every which said orders, constitutions, and ordinances, they, and every of them, and all other persons which shall hereafter be received into the saide societie and Company, shall submit themselves, and shall well and duely observe, performe, and obey the same, so long as they shall stand in force, or else shall pay and incurre such forfeitures, paines, and penalties, for the breach thereof, and in such maner and forme, and to such uses & intents, as by the saide orders, constitutions, and ordinances shall be assessed, limited and appointed. So alwayes, as the same orders, constitutions and ordinances, be not repugnant or contrary to the lawes, statutes, and customes of this Realme of England, nor any penaltie to exceede the reasonable forme of other penalties, assessed by the Company of our Marchants, named Adventurers. And to the intent that they onely, to whom the said power and libertie of trafique and trade of marchandize is graunted by these our letters patents aforesaid, and none others whatsoever, without their speciall consent and license before had, shall, during the said terme of ten yeeres, use, or have trade or trafique, with or for any maner of goods or marchandizes, to and from the saide coastes or parts of Guinea afore limited: Wee doe by these presents, by our royall and supreme authoritie, straightly charge and commaund, that no person, or persons whatsoever, by themselves, or by their factors, or servants, during the said terme of 10. yeres, shall in any wise trade or trafique, for or with any goods or marchandizes, to or from the said coasts and parts of Guinea afore limited, other then the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, and such as from time to time, they, or the most part of them, shall receive into their societie or company, to be traders with them, as is aforesaid, as they tender our favour, and will avoyde our high displeasure, and upon paine of imprisonment of his or their bodies, at our will and pleasure, and to lose and forfeit the ship or shippes, and all the goods, wares, and marchandizes, wherewith they, or any of them shal, during the saide terme of 10. yeres, trade, or trafique to or from the said Countries, or any part thereof, according to the limitation above mentioned, contrary to our expresse prohibition and restraint, in that behalfe.

And further, we do by these presents give and graunt full power and authoritie to the said William Brailly, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, and to such other persons, as they shal receive into their societie and company, to be traders with them, as is aforesaid, and the most part of them, for the time being: that they, and every of them, by themselves, their factors, deputies, or assignes, shall and may, from time to time, during the said terme of 10. yeres, attach, arrest, take, and sease all, and all maner of ship, and ships, goods, wares, and marchandizes whatsoever, which shall be brought from, or caried to the said coasts and parts of Guinea afore limited, contrary to our will and pleasure, and the true meaning of the same, declared and expressed in these our letters patents. Of all and every which said forfeitures whatsoever, the one third part shall be unto us, our heires, and successors, and another thirde part thereof we give and graunt by these presents, for and towards the reliefe of the saide Portugals continuing here under our protection, as is aforesaid. And the other third part of al the same forfeitures, we do by these presents, of our certaine knowledge and meere motion, for us, our heires and successors, give and grant cleerely and wholly unto the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassel, and Nicholas Turner, and such other persons, as they shall receive into their societie, and company, as is aforesaid. And these our letters patents, or the inolment or exemplification of the same, without any further or other warrant, shall from time to time, during the said tenne yeeres, be a sufficient warrant and authoritie to our Treasurer of England, for the time being, and to the barons of our Exchequer, and to all other our officers and ministers whatsoever, to whom it shall or may appertaine, to allow, deliver, and pay one thirde part of all the said forfeitures, to the use of the said Portugals, and one other thirde part of the same forfeitures, to the saide William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, and such other persons, as they shall receive into their societie and Company, to be traders with them, as aforesaide, to their owne proper use and behoofe: which said allow-

ances and paiments thereof, our will and pleasure is, and we do straightly charge and command, to bee from time to time duely made and performed accordingly, without any delay or denial of any our officers aforesaid, or any other our officers or ministers whatsoever. And we do straightly charge and command, and by these presents prohibite all and singular our customers, collectors, and farmers of our Customes and subsidies, and contrrollers of the same, of and within our ports of the citie of London, and the Citie of Exeter, and all other ports, creekes, and places, within this our Realme of England, and every of them, and all other our officers and ministers whatsoever, which have or shall have any dealing or intermedling, touching our said Customes and subsidies, that they, ne any of them by themselves, their clearks, deputies, or substitutes, or any of them take or receive, or in any wise cause or suffer to be taken or received for us, or in our name, or to our use, or for, or in the names or to the uses of our heires or successors, of any person, or persons, any summe or summes of money, or other things whatsoever, during the said terme of ten yeeres, for, or in the name, lieu, or place of any Custome, subsidie, or other thing or duetie, to us, our heires, or successors, due, or to be due, for the Customes or subsidies of any such goods, wares, or marchandizes, to be transported, caried, or brought to or from the privileged places, before in these presents mentioned, or any of them: nor make, nor cause to be made any entry into, or of the bookes of subsidies or customes, nor make any agreement for the Customes or subsidies, of, or for any goods, wares, or marchandizes, to bee sent to, or returned from any the privileged places, before in these presents mentioned, saving onely with, and in the name, and by the consent of the saide William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Antonie Dassel, and Nicholas Turner, or of some of them, or of such as they or the most part of them shall receive into their societie and Company, as aforesaid. Provided alwaies, that if at any time hereafter, we our selves, by our writing signed with our proper hand, or any sixe or more of our privie Counsell, for the time being, shall, by our direction, and by writing signed and subscribed with their hands, signifie and notifie to the said William Brayley,



Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, John Doricot, John Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, or to any of them, or to any other, whom they, or the most part of them shal receive into their Companie and society, as is aforesaid, or otherwise to our officers in our ports of Exeter, or Plimouth, by them to be notified to such as shall have interest in this speciall privilege, that our will and pleasure is, that the said trade and trafique shal cease, and be no longer continued into the saide coasts and partes of Guinea before limited: then immediatly from and after the ende of sixe moneths next insuing, after such signification & notification so to be given to any of the said Company and societie, as is aforesaid, or otherwise to our Officers in our ports of Exeter or Plimouth, by them to be notified to such as shall have interest in this speciall privilege, these our present letters Patents, and our graunt therein contained shall be utterly voyde, and of none effect, ne validitie in the lawe, to all intents and purposes: any thing before mentioned to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster, the thirde day of May, in the thirtieth yere of our Reigne 1588.

A voyage to Benin beyond the Countrey of Guinea, set foorth by Master Bird and Master Newton Marchants of London, with a shippe called the Richard of Arundell, and a Pinesse; Written by James Welsh, who was chiefe Master of the said voyage, begunne in the yeere 1588.

UPON the twelft of October wee wayed our ankers at Ratcliffe and went to Blackwall. And the next day sayling from thence, by reason of contrary winde and weather, wee made it the 25. of October before wee were able to reach Plimouth, and there we stayed (to our great expense of victuals) for lacke of winde and weather unto the 14. of December.

On Saturday the said 14. of December we put from thence, and about midnight were thwart of the Lizart.

Thursday the second of January wee had sight of the land neere Rio del oro, God be thanked, and there had 22. degrees of latitude, and 47. minutes.

The thirde of January wee had sight of Cavo de las Barbas, and it bare Southeast five leagues off.

The 4. we had sight of the Crosiers in the morning.

Tuesday the 7. day we had sight of Cavo verde, and I finde this place to be in latitude 14. degrees, and 43. minutes, being 4. leagues from the shoare.

Friday the 17. Cavo de Monte bare off us North North-east, we sounded and had 50. fathom blacke oase, and at 2. of the clocke it bare North Northwest 8. leagues off. And Cavo Mensurado bare of us East and by South, and wee went Northeast with the maine: here the currant setteth to the East Southeast amongst the shoare, and at midnight wee sounded and had 26. fathome blacke oase.

The 18. in the morning we were thwart of a land much like Cavo verde, and it is as I judge 9. leagues from Cavo Mensurado; it is a hill saddlebacked, and there are 4. or 5. one after another: and 7. leagues to the Southward of that, we saw a row of hils saddlebacked also, and from Cavo Mensurado are many mountaines.

The 19. we were thwart Rio de Sestos, and the 20. Cavo dos Baixos was North & by West 4. leagues off the shoare, and at afternoone there came a boate from the shoare with 3. Negroes, from a place (as they say) called Tabanoo. And towards evening we were thwart of an Island, and a great many of small Islands or rockes to the Southward, and the currant came out of the Souther-board: we sounded and had 35 fathomes.

The 21. wee had a flat hill that bare North Northeast off us, and wee were from the shoare 4. leagues, and at 2. a clocke in the afternoone we spake with a Frenchman riding neere a place called Ratire, and another place hard by called Crua. This Frenchman caried a letter from us to M. Newton: wee layd it on hull while wee were writing of our letter; and the current set us to the Southward a good pase amongst the shoare South Southeast.

The 25. we were in the bight of the bay that is to the Westward of Capo de Tres puntas: the currant did set East Northeast.

The 28. we lay sixe glasses a hull tarying for the pinesse.

The last of January the middle part of Cape de tres puntas was thwart of us three leagues at seven of the clocke in the morning: and at eight the pinesse came to an anker: and wee prooved that the current setteth to the Eastward: and at sixe at night the uttermost lande bare East and by South 5. leagues, and we went Southwest, and Southwest and by South.

Saturday the first of February 1588. we were thwart of a Round foreland, which I take to be the Eastermost part of Capo de tres puntas: and within the said Round foreland was a great bay with an Island in the said bay.

The second of February wee were thwart of the Castle of Mina, and when the thirde glasse of our Looke-out was spent, we spied under our Larbord-quarter one of their Boates with certaine Negroes, and one Portugale in the Boate, wee would have had him to come aboard, but he would not. And over the castle upon the hie rockes we did see as it might be two watch-houses, and they did shew very white: and we went eastnortheast.

The 4 in the morning we were thwart a great high hill, and up into the lande were more high ragged hilles, and those I reckoned to be but little short of Monte Redondo. Then I reckoned that we were 20 leagues Southeast-ward from the Mina, and at 11 of the clocke I sawe two hilles within the land, these hils I take to be 7 leagues from the first hils. And to sea-ward of these hilles is a bay, and at the east end of the bay another hill, and from the hils the landes lie verie low. We went Eastnortheast, and East and by North 22 leagues, and then East along the shore.

The 6 we were short of Villa longa, and there we met with a Portugall Caravell.

The 7 a faire temperate day, and all this day we road before Villa longa.

The 8 at noone we set saile from Villa longa, and ten leagues from thence we ankered againe and stayed all that night in ten fadom water.

The 9 we set saile, and all amongst the shore were very thicke woodes, and in the afternoone we were thwart a river, & to the Eastward of the river a litle way off was a great high bush-tree as though it had no leaves, and at night we ankered with faire and temperate weather.

The 10 we set sayle and went East, and East and by South 14 leagues along the shoare, which was so full of thicke woods, that in my judgement a man should have much to doe to passe through them, and towards night we ankered in 7 fadome with faire weather.

The 11 we sayled East and by South, and three leagues from the shore we had but 5 fadome water, and all the wood upon the land was as even as if it had beene cut

with a paire of gardeners sheeres, and in running of two leagues we descerned a high tuft of trees upon the brow of a land, which shewed like a Porpose head, and when wee came at it, it was but part of the lande, and a league further we saw a head-land very low and full of trees, and a great way from the land we had very shallow water, then we lay South into the sea, because of the sands for to get into the deepe water, and when we found it deepe, we ankered in five fadom thwart the river of Jaya, in the rivers mouth.

The 12 in the morning we road still in the rivers mouth. This day we sent the pinnesse and the boat on land with the marchants, but they came not againe untill the next morning. The shallowest part of this river is toward the West, where there is but 4 fadom and a halfe, and it is very broad. The next morning came the boate aboard, and they also said it was Rio de Jaya. Here the currant setteth Westward, and the Eastermost land is higher then the Westernmost.

Thursday the 13 we set saile, and lay South Southeast along the shore, where the trees are wonderfull even, and the East shore is higher then the West shore, and when wee had sayled 18 leagues we had sight of a great river, then we ankered in three fadom and a halfe, and the currant went Westward. This river is the river of Benin, and two leagues from the maine it is very shallowe.

The 15 we sent the boat and pinnesse into the river with the marchants, and after that we set saile, because we road in shallow water, and went Southsoutheast, and the starbord tacke aboard untill we came to five fathom water, where we road with the currant to the Westward: then came our boat out of the harbour and went aboard the pinnesse. The West part of the land was high browed much like the head of a Gurnard, and the Eastermost land was lower, and had on it three tufts of trees like stackes of wheate or corne, and the next day in the morning we sawe but two of those trees, by reason that we went more to the Eastward. And here we road still from the 14 of Februarie untill the 14 of Aprill, with the winde at South-west.

The 16 of Februarie we rode still in 5 fadome, and the currant ranne still to the Westward, the winde at South-west, and the boat and pinnesse came to us againe out of the river, and told us that there was but ten foote water

upon the barre. All that night was drowsie, and yet reasonable temperate.

The 17 a close day the winde at Southwest. Our marchants wayed their goods and put them aboard the pinnesse to goe into the river, and there came a great currant out of the river and set to the Westward.

The 18 the marchants went with the boat and pinnesse into the river with their commodities. This day was close and drowsie, with thunder, raine and lightning.

The 24 a close morning and temperate, and in the afternoone the boat came to us out of the river from our marchants.

Tuesday the 4 of March, a close soultry hot morning, the currant went to the Westward, and much troubled water came out of the river.

The 16 our pinnesse came a boord and Anthonie Ingram in her, & she brought in her 94 bags of pepper, and 28 Elephants teeth, and the Master of her and all his company were sicke. This was a temperate day and the winde at Southwest.

The 17. 18. and 19 were faire temperate weather and the winde at Southwest. This day the pinnesse went into the river againe, and caried the Purser and the Surgion.

The 25 of the said moneth 1589 we sent the boate into the river.

The 30 our pinnesse came from Benin, and brought sorowfull newes, that Thomas Hemsted was dead and our Captaine also, and she brought with her 159 Cerons or sakes of pepper and Elephants teeth.

Note that in all the time of our abiding here, in the mouth of the river of Benin, and in all the coast hereabout it is faire temperate weather, when the winde is at Southwest. And when the winde is at Northeast and Northerly, then it raineth, with lightning and thunder, and is very intemperate weather.

The 13 of Aprill 1589 we set saile homewards in the name of Jesus. In the morning we sayled with the winde at Southwest, and lay West and by North, but it proved calme all that night, and the currant Southeast.

The 14 the river of Benin was Northeast 7 leagues from the shore, and there was litle winde and towards night calme.

The 17 a faire temperate day the winde variable, and we had of latitude foure degrees and 20 minutes.

The 25 a faire temperate day the winde variable, and here we had three degrees & 29 minuts of latitude.

The 8 of May we had sight of the shore, which was part of Cavo de Monte, but we did not thinke we had been so farre, but it came so to passe by reason of the currant. In this place M. Towrson was in like maner deceived with the currant.

The 9 we had sight of Cavo de monte.

The 17 a darke drowsie day, this was the first night that I tooke the North starre.

The 26 a temperate day with litle winde, and we were in 12 degrees and 13 minutes of latitude.

The 30 we met a great sea out of the Northwest.

The 6 of June we found it as temperate as if we had beene in England, & yet we were within the height of the sunne, for it was declined 23 degrees, and 26 minuts to the Northward, and we had 15 degrees of latitude.

The 8 faire and temperate as in England, here we met with a counter sea, out of the Southborde.

The 15 a faire temperate day, the winde variable, here we had 18 degrees and fiftie nine minutes.

The 12 of July in 30 degrees of latitude we met with great store of rockweed, which did stick together like clusters of grapes, and this continued with us untill the 17 of the said moneth, and then we saw no more, at which 17 day we were in two and thirtie degrees sixe and fortie minutes of latitude.

The 25 at sixe of the clocke in the morning, we had sight of the Isle of Pike, it bare North and by East from us, we being 15 leagues off.

The 27 we spake with the poste of London and she told us good newes of England.

The nine and twentieth we had sight of the Island of Cuervo, and the 30 we saw the Island of Flores.

The 27 of August in 41 degrees of latitude we saw 9 saile of Britons, and three of them followed us untill noone, and then gave us over.

The 30 we had sight of Cape Finisterre.

The eight of September at night wee put into Plimouth sound, and road in Causon bay all night.

The 9 we put into Catwater and there stayed untill the 28 of September, by reason of want of men and sicknesse.

The nine and twentieth we set sayle from Plimouth, and arrived at London the second of October 1589.



The commodities that we caried in this voyage were cloth both linnen & wollen, yron worke of sundry sorts, Manillios or bracelets of copper, glasse beades, and corral.

The commodities that we brought home were pepper and Elephants teeth, oyle of palme, cloth made of Cotton wooll very curiously woven, and cloth made of the barke of palme trees. Their money is pretie white shels, for golde and silver we saw none. They have also great store of cotton growing: their bread is a kind of roots, they call it Inamia, and when it is well sodden I would leave our bread to eat of it, it is pleasant in eating, and light of digestion, the roote thereof is as bigge as a mans arme. Our men upon fish-dayes had rather eate the rootes with oyle and vineger, then to eate good stockfish. There are great store of palme trees, out of the which they gather great store of wine, which wine is white and very pleasant, & we should buy two gallons of it for 20 shels. They have good store of sope, and it smelleth like beaten violets. Also many pretie fine mats and baskets that they make, and spoones of Elephants teeth very curiously wrought with divers proportions of foules and beasts made upon them. There is upon the coast wonderfull great lightning and thunder, in so much as I never hard the like in no Countrey, for it would make the decke or hatches tremble under our feete, and before we were well acquainted with it, we were fearefull, but God be thanked we had no harme. The people are very gentle and loving, and they goe naked both men and women untill they be married, and then they goe covered from the middle downe to the knees. They would bring our men earthen pottes of the quantitie of two gallons, full of hony and hony combes for 100 shelles. They would also bring great store of Oranges and Plantans which is a fruit that groweth upon a tree, and is very like unto a Cucumber but very pleasant in eating. It hath pleased God of his merceifull goodnesse to give me the knowledge how to preserve fresh water with little cost, which did serve us sixe moneths at the sea, & when we came into Plimmouth it was much wondered at, of the principal men of the towne, who said that there was not sweeter water in any spring in Plimouth. Thus doth God provide for his creatures, unto whom be praise now and for evermore, Amen.

The voiage set forth by M. John Newton, and M. John Bird marchants of London to the kindome and Citie of Benin in Africa, with a ship called the Richard of Arundell, and a pinnesse, in the yere 1588. briefly set downe in this letter following, written by the chiefe Factor in the voyage to the foresaid Marchants at the time of the ships first arrivall at Plimouth.

WORSHIPFUL Sirs, the discourse of our whole proceeding in this voyage wil aske more time and a person in better health then I am at this present, so that I trust you will pardon me, till my comming up to you: in the meane time let this suffice. Whereas we departed in the moneth of December from the coast of England with your good ship the Richard of Arundell and the pinnesse, we held on our direct course towards our appointed port, and the 14 day of Februarie following we arrived in the haven of Benin, where we found not water enough to carry the ship over the barre, so that we left her without in the road, and with the pinnesse & ship boat, into which we had put the chieftest of our marchandise, we went up the river to a place called Goto, where we arrived the 20 of February, the foresaid Goto being the neerest place that we could come to by water, to go for Benin. From thence we presently sent Negroes to the king, to certifie him of our arrivall, and of the cause of our comming thither: who returned to us againe the 22 day with a noble man in their company to bring us up to the Citie, and with 200 Negroes to carrie our commodities: hereupon the 23 day we delivered our marchandize to the kings Factor, & the 25 day we came to the great Citie of Benin, where we were well intertained: The sixe & twenty day we went to the Court to have spoken with the king, which (by reason of a solemne feast then kept amongst them) we could not doe: but yet we spake with his Veadore, or chiefe man, that hath the dealing with the Christians: and we conferred with him concerning our trading, who answered us, that we should have all things to our desire, both in pepper and Elephants teeth.

The first of March we were admitted to the kings presence, and he made us the like courteous answer for our traffike: the next day we went againe to the Court, where the foresaid Veadore shewed us one basket of greene pepper, and another of dry in the stalkes: wee

desired to have it plucked from the stalks and made cleane, who answered, that it would aske time, but yet it should be done: and that against another yeere it should be in better readines, & the reason why we found it so unprepared was, because in this kings time no Christians had ever resorted thither, to lade pepper. The next day there were sent us 12 baskets, and so a litle every day untill the 9 of March at which time we had made upon 64 serons of pepper, and 28 Elephants teeth. In this time of our being at Benin (our natures at this first time not so well acquainted with that climate) we fell all of us into the disease of the fever, whereupon the Captaine sent me downe with those goods which we already had received, to the rest of our men at Goto: where being arrived, I found all the men of our pinnesse sicke also, and by reason of their weaknes not able to convey the pinnesse and goods downe to the place where our ship road: but by good hap within two houres after my comming to Goto, the boate came up from the ship, to see how all things stood with us, so that I put the goods into the boat, and went downe towards the ship: but by that time I was come aboard, many of our men died: namely, Master Benson, the Cooper, the Carpenter, & 3 or 4 more, & my selfe was also in such a weake state that I was not able to returne againe to Benin. Whereupon I sent up Samuel Dunne, and the Chirurgian with him to our men, that were about to let them blood, if it were thought needfull: who at their comming to Benin, found the Captaine and your sonne William Bird dead, and Thomas Hempsteede very weake, who also died within two dayes after their comming thither. This sorrowfull accident caused them with such pepper and teeth, as they could then find, speedily to returne to the ship, as by the Cargason will appeare: at their comming away the Veadore tolde them, that if they could or would stay any longer time, he would use all possible expedition to bring in more commodities: but the common sicknesse so increased and continued amongst us all, that by the time our men which remained were come aboard, we had so many sicke and dead of our companie, that we looked all for the same happe, and so thought to loose both our ship, life, countrey and all. Very hardly and with much adoe could we get up our ankers, but yet at the last by the mercie of God having gotten them up, but leaving our

pinnesse behinde us, we got to sea, and set saile, which was upon the 13 of Aprill. After which by little and little our men beganne to gather up their crums and to recover some better strength: and so sailing betwixt the Islands of Cape Verde, and the maine we came to the Islands of the Azores upon the 25 of July, where our men beganne a fresh to grow ill, and divers died, among whom Samuel Dun was one, and as many as remained living were in a hard case: but in the midst of our distresse, it fell so wel out, by Gods good providence, that we met with your ship the Barke Burre, on this side the North cape, which did not only keepe us good companie, but also sent us sixe fresh men aboard, without whose helpe, we should surely have tasted of many inconveniences. But by this good meanes we are now at the last arrived in Plimouth, this 9 day of September: and for want of better health at this time, I referre the further knowledge of more particularities, till my comming to London.

Yours to commaund

Anthony Ingram.

The second voyage to Benin, set foorth by Master John Newton, and Master John Bird Marchants of London in the yeere 1590 with a ship called the Richard of Arundell of the burthen of one hundreth tunnes, and a small pinnesse, in which voyage Master James Welsh was chiefe Maister.

THE third of September 1590 we set saile from Ratcliffe, and the 18 of the said moneth we came into Plimouth sound, and the two and twentieth we put to sea againe, and at midnight we were off the Lisart, and so passed on our voyage untill the 14 of October, on which day we had sight of Forteventura one of the Canarie Islands, which appeared very ragged as we sailed by it.

The 16 of October, in the latitude of 24 degrees and nine minutes we met with a great hollow sea, the like whereof I never saw on this coast, and this day there came to the ships side a monstrous great fish (I thinke it was a Gobarto) which put up his head to the steepe tubs where ye cooke was in shifting the victuals, whom I thought the fish would have caried away.

The 21 in this latitude of 18 degrees we met with a countersea out of the North boord, and the last voyage in

this very place we had the countersea out of the South, being very calme weather as now it is also.

The 24 we had sight of Cavo Verde, and the 25 we met with a great hollow sea out of the North, which is a common signe that the winde will be Northerly, and so it proved.

The 15 of November we met with three currants out of the West and Northwest, one after another, with an houres time betweene each currant. This was in the latitude of 6 degrees and 42 minutes.

The 18 day we met with two other great currants out of the Southwest, and the 20 we saw another current out of the Northeast, and the 24 we had a great current out of the Southsouthwest, and at 6 of the clocke towards night we had 3 currents more.

The 27 we thought that we had gone at the least 2 leagues and a halfe every watch, and it fell out that we sailed but one league every watch for the space of 24 hours, by meanes of a great billow and current that came still out of the South.

The 5 of December in setting the watch we cast about and lay East Northeast, and Northeast, and here in 5 degrees and a halfe our pinnesse lost us wilfully.

The 7 at the going downe of the Sunne we saw a great blacke spot in the Sunne, and the 8. day both at rising and setting we saw the like, which spot to our seeming was about the bignesse of a shilling, being in 5 degrees of latitude, and still there came a great billow out of the southerboord.

The 14 we sounded and had 15 fadom water and grosse red sand, and 2 leagues from the shore the currant set Southeast along the shore with a billow still out of the southerboord.

The 15 we were thwart a rocke somewhat like the Mewstone in England, it was 2 leagues from us, here we sounded and had 27 fadom, but the rocke is not above a mile from the shore, and a mile farther we saw another rocke, and betweene them both broken ground; here we sounded and had but 20 fadome and blacke sand, and we might see plaine that the rockes went not along the shore, but from the land to the seaward, and about 5 leagues to the Southward we sawe a great bay, here we had 4 degrees and 27 minuts.

The 16 we met with a French ship of Hunfleur, who

robbed our pinnesse, we sent a letter by him, and this night we saw another spot in the Sunne at his going downe. And towards evening we were thwart of a river, and right over the river was a high tuft of trees.

The 17 we ankered in the rivers mouth, and then we found the land to be Cavo de las Palmas, and betweene us & the cape was a great ledge of rockes, one league and a halfe into the sea, and they bare to the West of the Cape, we saw also an Island off the point of the foreland, thus it waxed night that we could perceive no more of the lande, but onely that it trended in like a bay, where there runneth a streame as if it were in the river of Thames, and this was the change day of the Moone.

The 19 a faire temperate day, and the wind South, we went East, and the lande a sterne of us West, and it shewed low by the water side like Islands, this was the east of Cavo de las Palmas, and it trended in with a great sound, and we went East all night, and in the morning wee were but 3 or 4 leagues from the shore.

The 20 we were thwart of a river called Rio de los Barbos.

The 21 we went along the shore East, & 3 or 4 leagues to the West of Cavos de tres puntas, I find the bay to be set deeper then it is by 4 leagues, and at 4 of the clocke the land begun to shewe high, and the first part of it full of Palme trees.

The 24 still going by the shore, the land was very low and full of trees by the water side, and at 12 of the clocke we ankered thwart of the river called, Rio de Boilas. Here we sent our boate a shore with the marchants, but they durst not put into the river because of a great billow that continually brake at the enterance upon the barre.

The 28 we sailed alongst the shore, and ankered at night in seven fadom because a great current would have put us backe, which came from the East Southeast from Papuas.

The 29 at noone we were thwart of Arda, and there we tooke a Caravel but the men were fled on land, then we went aboard her, but she had nothing in her but only a litle oyle of Palme trees, and a few roots. The next morning our Captaine and marchants went to meete Portugals, that came in a boate to speake with us, where they communed about the buying of the Caravell of our



men againe, and the Portugals promised that we should have for the Caravell, certaine bullocks and Elephants teeth, and they gave us one tooth and one bullocke presently, and sayd they would bring us the rest the next day.

The first of Januarie our Captaine went on land to speake with the Portugales, but when he saw they did dissemble, he came aboard againe, and presently we unrigged the Caravell, and set her on fire before the towne. Then we set saile and went along the coast, where we saw a Date tree, the like whereof is not in all that coast upon the water side, also we fell on ground a little in one place: Thus we went to Villa longa, and there ankered.

The third we were as far shot as Rio de Lagoa, where our marchants went a shore and upon the barre they found 3 fadom flat, but they went not in because it was late. There is also to the Eastward of this river a Date tree higher then all the rest of the other trees thereabout. Thus we went along the coast, and every night ankered, & al the shore as we went was full of trees and thicke woods.

The 6 day in the morning it was very foggy, so that we could not see the land, and at three of the clocke in the afternoone it cleared up, & then we found our selves thwart of the river of Jaya, and when we found the shallow water, we bare into the sea South, as we did the voyage before, and came to an ancre in five fadom water. The next day we set saile againe, and towards noone we were thwart of the river of Benin in foure fadom water.

The 10 day our Captaine went on land with the shallop at 2 a clocke in the afternoone. All this weeke it was very foggy every day untill ten a clocke, and all this time hitherto hath beene as temperate as our summer in England. This day we went into the road and ankered, & the west point of the road bare East northeast off us, wee riding in foure fadome water.

The 21 a faire temperate day, this day M. Hassald went to the towne of Goto, to heare newes of the Captaine.

The 23 came the Caravell, and Samuell in her, and she brought 63 Elephants teeth, and three bullocks.

The 28 a faire temperate day, and towards night there

fell much raine, lightning, and thunder, this day our boate came aboard from Goto.

The 24 of Februarie, we tooke in 298 Cerons or sackes of pepper, and 4 Elephants teeth, and the winde was at Southeast. And the 26 we put the rest of our goods into the Caravell, and M. Hassald went with her to Goto.

The 5 of March ye Caravel came againe & brought 21 Cerons of pepper, & 4 Elephants teeth.

The 9 of Aprill our Caravell came aboard with water for our provision for the sea, and this day also we lost our shallope.

The 17 a drowsie rainie day, and in the afternoone we saw 3 great spoutes of raine, two on our larbord side, and one right with the ships head, but God be thanked, they came not at us, and this day we tooke in the last of our water for the sea, and the 26 we victualed our Caravell to go with us to the sea.

The 27 we set saile to goe homewarde with the winde at Southwest, and at two a clocke in the afternoone, the river of Benin was Northeast 8 leagues from us.

The 3 of May we had such a terrible gust with raine, lightning & thunder, that it tore and split our fore saile, and also the Caravels fore-sayle and maine-sayle, with the wind at Southeast.

The 12 a faire temperate day, much like our sommer mornings in England, being but one degree & a halfe from the line, but at midnight we had a cruell gust of raine, & the wind at northeast.

The 24 we were South from Cavo de las Palmas 37 leagues.

The first of July we had sight of the Island of Brava, and it bare East 7 leagues off, and this Iland is one of the Islands of Cavo Verde.

The 13 of August we spake with the Queenes ships, the Lord Thomas Howard being Admirall, and sir Richard Greenevill Viceadmirall. They kept us in their company untill the 15 day at night, themselves lying a hull, in waight for purchase 30 leagues to the Southwest of the Island of Flores.

The 15 we had leave to depart with a fly-boat laden with sugar that came from Sant Thome, which was taken by the Queenes ships, whereof my Lord Admirall gave me great charge, not to leave her untill she were harbored in England.

The three and twentieth the Northeast part of the Island of Corvo bare off us East and by South sixe leagues off.

The 17 of September we met with a ship of Plimouth that came out of the West Indies, but she could tell us no newes. The next day we had sight of another sayle, this day also one of our company named M. Wood died.

The 23 we spake with the Dragon of my Lord of Cumberland, whereof Master Ivie was Maister.

The second of October we met with a ship of Newcastle which came from Newfoundland, and out of her we had 300 couple of Newland fish.

The 6 we had sight of Sillie, and with raine and winde we were forced to put into S. Maries sound, where we staid all night, and 4 dayes after.

The 11 we set saile againe, and comming out had three fadom upon the barre at a high water, then we lay out Southeast, through Crow-sand, and shortly after we had sight of the lands end, and at ten of the clocke we were thwart of the Lysart.

The 13 we were put into Dartmouth, and there we stayd untill the 12 of December. From thence we put out with the winde at West, and the 18 of December, God be praised, we ankered at Limehouse in the Thames, where we discharged 589 sacks of Pepper, 150 Elephants teeth, and 32 barrels of oile of Palme trees.

The commodities that we caried out this second voyage were Broad cloth, Kersies, Bayes, Linnen cloth, Yron unwrought, Bracelets of Copper, Corall, Hawks belles, Horsetailes, Hats, and such like.

This voyage was more comfortable unto us then the first, because we had good store of fresh water, and that very sweet: for as yet we have very good water in the shippe which we brought out of the river of Benin the first day of Aprill 1591. and it is at this day (being the 7 of June 1592.) to be seen aboard the ship as cleare and as sweet as any fountaine can yeeld.

In this voiage we sailed 350 leagues within halfe a degree of the equinoctiall line, and there we found it more temperate, then where we rode. And under the line wee did kill great store of small Dolphines, and many other good fishes, and so did we all the way, which was a very great refreshing unto us, and the fish never forsooke us, until we were to the Northwards of the Ilands

of Azores, and then we could see no more fish, but God be thanked wee met with good company of our countrey ships which were great comfort unto us, being five moneths before at Sea without any companie.

By me James Welsh master of the Richard of Arundell, in both these voyages to the river of Benin.

A true discourse written (as is thought) by Colonel Antonie Winkfield employed in the voiage to Spaine and Portugall, 1589. sent to his particular friend, & by him published for the better satisfaction of all such as having bene seduced by particular report, have entred into conceits tending to the discredite of the enterprise and Actors of the same.

ALTHOUGH the desire of advancing my reputation caused me to withstand the many perswasions you used to hold me at home, & the pursute of honorable actions drew me (contrary to your expectation) to neglect that advise, which in love I know you gave me: yet in respect of the many assurances you have yeilded mee of your kindest friendship, I cannot suspect that you will either love or esteeme me the lesse, at this my returne: and therfore I wil not omit any occasion which may make me appeare thankfull, or discharge any part of that duetie I owe you; which now is none other then to offer you a true discourse how these warres of Spaine and Portugall have passed since our going out of England the 18 of Aprill, till our returne which was the first of July. Wherein I wil (under your favourable pardon) for your further satisfaction, as well make relation of those reasons which confirmed me in my purpose of going abroad, as of these accidents which have happened during our aboad there; thereby hoping to perswade you that no light fansie did drawe me from the fruition of your dearest friendship, but an earnest desire, by following the warres to make my selfe more woorthy of the same.

Having therefore determinately purposed to put on this habite of a souldier, I grew doubtfull whether to employ my time in ye wars of the low Countries, which are in auxiliarie maner maintained by her majestie, or to folow the fortune of this voiage, which was an adventure of her and many honorable personages, in revenge of unsupportable wrongs offered unto the estate of our countrey

by the Castilian king : in arguing whereof, I find that by how much the challenger is reputed before the defendant, by so much is the journey to be preferred before those defensive wars. For had the duke of Parma his turne bene to defend, as it was his good fortune to invade : from whence could have proceeded that glorious honor which these late warres have laid upon him, or what could have bene said more of him, then of a Respondent (though never so valiant) in a private Duell? Even, that he hath done no more then by his honour he was tied unto. For the gaine of one towne or any small defeat giveth more renoume to the Assailant, then the defence of a countrey, or the withstanding of twentie encounters can yeeld any man who is bound by his place to guard the same : whereof as well the particulars of our age, especially in the Spaniard, as the reports of former histories may assure us, which have still laied the fame of all warres upon the Invader. And do not ours in these dayes live obscured in Flanders, either not having wherewithall to manage any warre, or not putting on armes, but to defend themselves when the enemie shall procure them? Whereas in this short time of our Adventure, we have won a towne by escalade, battred & assaulted another, overthrowen a mightie princes power in the field, landed our armie in 3 several places of his kingdom, marched 7 dayes in the heart of his country, lien three nights in the suburbs of his principall citie, beaten his forces into the gates thereof, and possessed two of his frontier Forts, as shall in discourse thereof more particularly appeare : whereby I conclude, that going with an Invader, and in such an action as every day giveth new experience, I have much to vaunt of, that my fortune did rather cary me thither then into the wars of Flanders. Notwithstanding the vehement perswasions you used with me to the contrary, the grounds whereof sithence you received them from others, you must give me leave to acquaint you with the error you were led into by them, who labouring to bring the world into an opinion that it stood more with the safetie of our estate to bend all our forces against the Prince of Parma, then to folow this action by looking into the true effects of this journey, will judiciously convince themselves of mistaking the matter. For, may the conquest of these countries against the prince of Parma be thought more easie for us alone

now, then the defence of them was 11 yeeres agoe, with the men and money of the Queene of England? the power of the Monsieur of France? the assistance of the principal states of Germanie? and the nobilitie of their owne country? Could not an armie of more then 20000 horse, & almost 30000 foot, beat Don John de Austria out of the countrey, who was possessed of a very few frontier townes? & shall it now be laid upon her majesties shoulders to remoove so mightie an enemy, who hath left us but 3 whole parts of 17 unconquered? It is not a journey of a few moneths, nor an auxiliarie warre of few yeeres that can damnifie the king of Spaine in those places where we shall meet at every 8 or 10 miles end with a towne, which will cost more the winning then will yeerely pay 4 or 5 thousand mens wages, where all the countrey is quartered by rivers which have no passage unfortified, and where most of the best souldiers of Christendom that be on our adverse party be in pension. But our armie, which hath not cost her majestie much above the third part of one yeres expenses in the Low countries, hath already spoiled a great part of the provision he had made at the Groine of all sortes, for a new voyage into England; burnt 3 of his ships, wherof one was ye second in the last yeres expedition called S. Juan de Colorado, taken from him above 150 pieces of good artillerie; cut off more then 60 hulks and 20 French ships wel manned fit and readie to serve him for men of war against us, laden for his store with corne, victuals, masts, cables and other marchandizes; slaine and taken the principal men of war he had in Galitia; made Don Pedro Enriques de Gusman, Conde de Fuentes, Generall of his forces in Portugall, shamefully run at Peniche; laid along of his best Commanders in Lisbon; and by these few adventures discovered how easily her majestie may without any great adventure in short time pull the Tirant of the world upon his knees, as wel by the disquieting his usurpation of Portugall as without difficultie in keeping the commoditie of his Indies from him, by sending an army so accomplished, as may not be subject to those extremities which we have endured: except he draw, for those defences, his forces out of the Low countries and disfurnish his garrisons of Naples & Milan, which with safetie of those places he may not do. And yet by this meane he shall rather be inforced thereunto, then by any force that can be used



there against him : wherefore I directly conclude that this proceeding is the most safe and necessary way to be held against him, and therefore more importing then the war in the Low countries. Yet hath the journey (I know) bene much misliked by some, who either thinking too worthily of the Spaniards valure, too indifferently of his purposes against us, or too unworthily of them that undertooke this journey against him, did thinke it a thing dangerous to encounter the Spaniard at his owne home, a thing needlesse to proceed by invasion against him, a thing of too great moment for two subjects of their qualitie to undertake : And therfore did not so advance the beginnings as though they hoped for any good successe thereof.

The chances of wars be things most uncertaine : for what people soever undertake them, they are in deed as chastisements appointed by God for the one side or the other. For which purpose it hath pleased him to give some victories to the Spaniards of late yeeres against some whom he had in purpose to ruine. But if we consider what wars they be that have made their name so terrible, we shal find them to have bin none other then against the barbarous Moores, the naked Indians, and the unarmed Netherlanders, whose yeelding rather to the name then act of the Spaniards, hath put them into such a conceit of their mightines, as they have considerately undertaken the conquest of our monarchie, consisting of a people united & alwayes held sufficiently warlike : against whom what successe their invincible army had the last yeere, as our very children can witness, so I doubt not but this voiage hath sufficiently made knowen what they are even upon their owne dunghill, which, had it bene set out in such sort as it was agreed upon by their first demaund, it might have made our nation the most glorious people of the world. For hath not the want of 8 of the 12 pieces of artillerie, which were promised unto the Adventure, lost her majestie the possession of the Groine and many other places, as hereafter shal appeare, whose defensible rampires were greater then our batterie (such as it was) cold force : and therefore were left unattempted?

It was also resolved to have sent 600 English horses of the Low countries, whereof we had not one, notwithstanding the great charges expended in their transporta-

tion hither : and that may the army assembled at Puente de Burgos thanke God of, as well as the forces of Portugall, who foreran us 6 daies together : Did we not want 7 of the 13 old Companies, which we should have had from thence ; foure of the 10 dutch Companies ; & 6 of their men of war for the sea, from the Hollanders : which I may justly say we wanted, in that we might have had so many good souldiers, so many good ships, and so many able bodies more then we had ?

Did there not upon the first thinking of the journey divers gallant Courtiers put in their names for adventurers to the summe of 10000 li. who seeing it went forward in good earnest, advised themselves better, and laid the want of so much money upon the journey ?

Was there not moreover a round summe of the adventure spent in levying, furnishing, and maintaining 3 moneths 1500 men for the service of Berghen, with which Companies the Mutinies of Ostend were suppressed, a service of no smal moment ?

What misery the detracting of the time of our setting out, which should have bene the 1 of February, did lay upon us, too many can witnes : and what extremitie the want of that moneths victuals which we did eat, during the moneth we lay at Plimmouth for a wind, might have driven us unto, no man can doubt of, that knoweth what men do live by, had not God given us in the ende a more prosperous wind and shorter passage into Galitia then hath bene often seen, where our owne force & fortune revictualled us largely : of which crosse windes, that held us two dayes after our going out, the Generals being wearie, thrust to Sea in the same, wisely chusing rather to attend the change thereof there, then by being in harborough to lose any part of the better, when it should come by having their men on shore : in which two dayes 25 of our companies shipped in part of the fleet were scattered from us, either not being able or willing to double Ushant.

These burdens layed upon our Generals before their going out, they have patiently endured, and I thinke they have thereby much enlarged their honour : for having done thus much with the want of our artillery, 600 horse, 3000 foot, 20000 li. of their adventure, and one moneths victuals of their proportion, what may be conjectured they would have done with their ful complement ?

For the losse of our men at sea, since we can lay it on none but the will of God, what can be said more, then that it is his pleasure to turne all those impediments to the honor of them against whom they were intended: and he will still shew himselfe the Lord of hosts in doing great things by them, whom many have sought to obscure: who if they had let the action fall at the height thereof in respect of those defects, which were such especially for the service at land, as would have made a mighty subject stoope under them, I do not see how any man could justly have layd any reproch upon him who commanded the same, but rather have lamented the iniquity of this time, wherein men whom forren countries have for their conduct in service worthily esteemed of, should not only in their owne countrey not be seconded in their honorable endeavors, but mightily hindred, even to ye impairing of their owne estates, which most willingly they have adventured for the good of their countries: whose worth I will not value by my report, lest I should seem guiltie of flattery (which my soule abhorreth) & yet come short in the true measure of their praise. Onely for your instruction against them who had almost seduced you from the true opinion you hold of such men, you shal understand that General Norris from his booke was trained up in the wars of the Admiral of France, and in very yong yeeres had charge of men under the erle of Essex in Ireland: which with what commendations he then discharged, I leave to the report of them who observed those services. Upon the breach betwixt Don John & the States, he was made Colonell generall of all ye English forces there present, or to come, which he continued 2 yeeres: he was then made Marshall of the field under Conte Hohenlo: and after that, General of the army in Frisland: at his comming home in the time of Monsieurs government in Flanders, he was made lord President of Munster in Ireland, which he yet holdeth, from whence within one yeere he was sent for, & sent Generall of the English forces which her majestie then lent to the Low countries, which he held til the erle of Leicesters going over. And he was made Marshall of the field in England, the enemy being upon our coast, and when it was expected the crowne of England should have bene tried by battel. Al which places of commandement which never any Englishman

successively attained unto in forren wars, and the high places her majestie had thought him woorthy of, may suffice to perswade you, that he was not altogether unlikely to discharge that which he undertooke.

What fame general Drake hath gotten by his journey about the world, by his adventures to the west Indies, & the scourges he hath laid upon the Spanish nation, I leave to the Southerne parts to speake of, & refer you to The Booke extant in our own language treating of ye same, & beseech you considering the waighty matters they have in all the course of their lives with wonderfull reputation managed, that you wil esteeme them not wel informed of their proceedings, that thinke them insufficient to passe through that which they undertooke, especially having gone thus far in the view of the world, through so many incombrances, & disappointed of those agreements which led them ye rather to undertake the service. But it may be you wil thinke me herein either to much opinionated of the voiage, or conceited of the Commanders, y<sup>t</sup> labouring thus earnestly to advance the opinion of them both, have not so much as touched any part of the misorders, weaknes & wants that have bene amongst us, whereof they that returned did plentifully report. True it is, I have conceived a great opinion of the journey, & do thinke honorably of the Commanders: for we find in greatest antiquities, that many Commanders have bene received home with triumph for lesse merite, & that our owne countrey hath honored men heretofore with admiration for adventures unequal to this: it might therfore in those daies have seemed superfluous to extend any mans commendations by particular remembrances. for that then all men were ready to give every man his due. But I hold it most necessary in these daies, sithence every vertue findeth her direct opposite, & actions woorthy of all memory are in danger to be enviously obscured, to denounce the prayses of the action, and actors to the ful, but yet no further then with sinceritie of trueth, & not without grieving at the injury of this time, wherein is enforced a necessitie of Apologies for those men & matters, which all former times were accustomed to entertaine with the greatest applause that might be. But to answeere the reports which have bene given out in reproch of the actors and action by such as were in the same: let no man thinke otherwise, but that they, who fearing the

casuall accidents of war had any purpose of returning, did first advise of some occasion that should move them thereunto: and having found any whatsoever did thinke it sufficiently just, in respect of the earnest desire they had to seeke out matter that might colour their comming home.

Of these there were some, who having noted the late Flemish warres did finde that many yong men have gone over and safely returned souldiers within fewe moneths, in having learned some wordes of Arte used in the warres, and thought after that good example to spend like time amongst us: which being expired they beganne to quarrell at the great mortalitie that was amongst us.

The neglect of discipline in the Armie, for that men were suffered to be drunke with the plentie of wines.

The scarsitie of Surgions.

The want of carriages for the hurt and sicke: and the penurie of victuals in the Campe:

Thereupon divining that there would be no good done: And that therefore they could be content to lose their time, and adventure to returne home againe.

These men have either conceived wel of their owne wits (who by observing the passages of the warre were become sufficient souldiers in these fewe weeks, & did long to be at home, where their discourses might be wondred at) or missing of their Portugues and Milrayes which they dreamed on in Portugall, would rather returne to their former maner of life, then attend the ende of the journey. For seeing that one hazard brought another; and that though one escaped the bullet this day it might light upon him to morow, the next day, or any day; and that the warre was not confined to any one place, but y<sup>t</sup> every place brought foorth new enemies, they were glad to see some of the poore souldiers fal sicke, y<sup>t</sup> fearing to be infected by them they might justly desire to go home.

The sicknesse I confesse was great, because any is too much. But hath it bene greater then is ordinary amongst Englishmen at their first entrance into the warres, whithersoever they goe to want the fulnesse of their flesh pots? Have not ours decayed at all times in France, with eating yong fruits and drinking newe wines? have they not abundantly perished in the Low countreys with cold, and rawnesse of the aire, even in their garrisons?

Have there not more died in London in sixe moneths of the plague, then double our Armie being at the strongest? And could the Spanish Armie the last yeere (who had all provisions that could be thought on for an Armie, and tooke the fittest season in the yeere for our Climate) avoyd sicknes amongst their souldiers? May it then be thought that ours could escape there, where they found inordinate heat of weather, and hot wines to distemper them withall?

But can it be, that wee have lost so many as the common sort perswade themselves wee have? It hath bene proved by strickt examinations of our musters, that we were never in our fulnesse before our going from Plimouth 11000. souldiers, nor above 2500. Marriners. It is also evident that there returned above 6000. of all sorts, as appeareth by the severall paiments made to them since our comming home. And I have truely shewed you that of these numbers very neere 3000. forsooke the Armie at the Sea, whereof some passed into France and the rest returned home. So as we never being 13000. in all, and having brought home above 6000. with us, you may see how the world hath bene seduced, in beleeving that we have lost 16000. men by sicknes.

To them that have made question of the government of the warres (little knowing what appertaineth thereunto in that there were so many drunkards amongst us) I answere, that in their government of shires and parishes, yea in their very houtholdes, themselves can hardly bridle their vassals from that vice. For we see it is a thing almost impossible, at any your Faires or publike assemblies to finde any quarter thereof sober, or in your Townes any Alepoles unfrequented: And we observe that though any man having any disordered persons in their houses, do locke up their drinke and set Butlers upon it, that they will yet either by indirect meanes steale themselves drunke from their Masters tables, or runne abroad to seeke it. If then at home in the eyes of your Justices, Maiors, Preachers, and Masters, and where they pay for every pot they take, they cannot be kept from their liquor: doe they thinke that those base disordered persons whom themselves sent unto us, as living at home without rule, who hearing of wine doe long for it as a daintie that their purses could never reach to in England, and having it there without mony even in their houses where they lie



& hold their guard, can be kept from being drunk; and once drunke, held in any order or tune, except we had for every drunkard an officer to attend him? But who be they that have runne into these disorders? Even our newest men, our yongest men, and our idelest men, and for the most part our slovenly prest men, whom the Justices, (who have alwayes thought unwoorthily of any warre) have sent out as the scumme and dregs of their countrey. And those were they, who distempering themselves with these hote wines, have brought in that sicknesse, which hath infected honester men then themselves. But I hope, as in other places the recoverie of their diseases doeth acquaint their bodies with the aire of the countries where they be, so the remainder of these which have either recovered, or past without sicknesse will proove most fit for Martiall services.

If we have wanted Surgeons, may not this rather be laid upon the captaines (who are to provide for their severall Companies) then upon the Generals, whose care hath bene more generall. And how may it be thought that every captaine, upon whom most of the charges of raising their Companies was laid as an adventure, could provide themselves of all things expedient for a war, which was alwaies wont to be maintained by the purse of the prince. But admit every captaine had his Surgeon: yet were the want of curing never the lesse: for our English Surgeons (for the most part) be unexperienced in hurts that come by shot; because England hath not knowen wars but of late, from whose ignorance proceeded this discomfort, which I hope wil warne those y<sup>t</sup> hereafter go to the wars to make preparation of such as may better preserve mens lives by their skill.

From whence the want of cariages did proceed, you may conjecture in y<sup>t</sup> we marched through a countrey neither plentiful of such provisions, nor willing to part from any thing: yet this I can assure you, that no man of worth was left either hurt or sicke in any place unprovided for. And that the General commanded all the mules & asses that were laden with any baggage to be unburdened and taken to that use: and the earle of Essex and he for mony hired men to cary men upon pikes. And the earle (whose true vertue and nobilitie, as it doeth in all other his actions appeare, so did it very much in this) threw down his own stuffe, I meane

apparel & necessities which he had there, from his owne cariages, and let them be left by the way, to put hurt and sicke men upon them. Of whose honorable deservings I shall not need here to make any particular discourse, for that many of his actions do hereafter give me occasion to observe the same.

And the great complaint that these men make for the want of victuals may well proceed from their not knowing the wants of the war; for if to feed upon good bieues, muttuns & goats, be to want, they have endured great scarcitie at land, wherunto they never wanted, two daies together, wine to mixe with their water, nor bread to eat with their meat (in some quantitie) except it were such as had vowed rather to starve then to stir out of their places for food: of whom we had too many, who if their time had served for it, might have seen in many campes in the most plentiful countries of the world for victuals, men daily die with want of bread and drinke in not having money to buy, nor the countrey yeelding any good or healthful water in any place; whereas both Spaine and Portugall do in every place afford the best water that may be, and much more healthful then any wine for our drinking.

And although some have most injuriously exclaimed against the smal provisions of victuals for the sea, rather grounding the same upon an evil that might have fallen, then any that did light upon us: yet know you this, that there is no man so forgetfull, that will say they wanted before they came to the Groine, that whosoever made not very large provisions for himselfe & his company at the Groine, was very improvident, where was plentiful store of wine, biefe and fish, & no man of place prohibited to lay in the same into their ships, wherewith some did so furnish themselves, as they did not onely in the journey supplie the wants of such as were lesse provident then they, but in their returne home made a round commoditie of the remainder thereof. And that at Cascais there came in such store of provisions into the Fleet out of England, as no man that would have used his diligence could have wanted his due proportion thereof, as might appeare by the remainder that was returned to Plimmouth, and the plentiful sale thereof made out of the marchants ships after their comming into the Thames.

But least I should seeme unto you too studious in

confuting idle opinions, or answering frivolous questions, I wil addresse me to the true report of those actions that have passed therein: wherin I protest, I will neither hide any thing that hath hapned against us, nor attribute more to any man or matter, then the just occasions thereof lead me unto: wherein it shall appeare that there hath bene nothing left undone by the Generals which was before our going out undertaken by them, but that there hath bene much more done then was at the first required by Don Antonio, who should have reaped the fruit of our adventure.

After 6 daies sailing from the coast of England, & the 5 after we had the wind good being the 20 of April in the evening, we landed in a baie more then an English mile from the Groine, in our long boats and pinnasses without any impeachment: from whence we presently marched toward the towne, within one halfe mile we were encountred by the enemy who being charged by ours, retired into their gates. For that night our armie lay in the villages, houses & mils next adjoining, and very neere round about the towne, into the which the Galeon named S. John (which was the second of the last yeeres Fleet agaynst England) one hulke, two smaller ships and two Gallies which were found in the road, did beate upon us and upon our Companies as they passed too and fro that night and the next morning. Generall Norris having that morning before day viewed the Towne, found the same defended on the land side (for it standeth upon the necke of an Iland) with a wall upon a dry ditch: whereupon he resolved to trie in two places what might bee done against it by escalade, and in the meane time advised for the landing of some artillery to beat upon the ships and gallies, that they might not annoy us; which being put in execution, upon the planting of the first piece the gallies abandoned the road, and betooke them to Feroll, not farre from thence: and the Armada being beaten with the artillery and musketers that were placed upon the next shore, left her playing upon us. The rest of the day was spent in preparing the companies, and other provisions ready for the surprise of the base towne, which was effected in this sort.

There were appointed to be landed 1200 men under the conduct of Colonell Huntley, and Captaine Fenner the Viceadmirall, on that side next fronting us by water

in long boats and pinnesses, wherein were placed many pieces of artillery to beat upon the towne in their aproch: at the corner of the wall which defended the other water side, were appointed Captaine Richard Wingfield Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Norris, and Captaine Sampson Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Drake to enter at low water with 500 men if they found it passable, but if not, to betake them to the escalade, for they had also ladders with them: at the other corner of the wall which joyned to that side that was attempted by water, were appointed Colonell Umpton, and Colonell Bret with 300 men to enter by escalade. All the companies which should enter by boat being imbarked before the low water, and having given the alarme, Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Sampson betooke them to the escalade, for they had in commandement to charge all at one instant. The boats landed without any great difficulty: yet had they some men hurt in the landing. Colonell Bret and Colonell Umpton entred their quarter without encounter, not finding any defence made against them: for Captaine Hinder being one of them that entred by water, at his first entry, with some of his owne company whom he trusted well, betooke himselfe to that part of the wall, which he cleared before that they offered to enter, and so still scoured the wall till hee came on the backe of them who mainteined the fight against Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Sampson; who were twice beaten from their ladders, and found very good resistance, till the enemies perceiving ours entred in two places at their backs, were driven to abandon the same. The reason why that place was longer defended then the other, is (as Don Juan de Luna who commanded the same affirmeth) that the enemy that day had resolved in councell how to make their defences, if they were approched: and therein concluded, that, if we attempted it by water, it was not able to be held, and therefore upon the discovery of our boats, they of the high towne should make a signall by fire from thence, that all the low towne might make their retreat thither: but they (whether troubled with the sudden terror we brought upon them, or forgetting their decree) omitted the fire, which made them guard that place til we were entred on every side.

Then the towne being entred in three several places with an huge cry, the inhabitants betooke them to the

high towne: which they might with lesse perill doe, for that ours being strangers there, knew not the way to cut them off. The rest that were not put to the sword in fury, fled to the rocks in the Iland, and others hid themselves in chambers and sellers, which were every day found out in great numbers.

Amongst those Don Juan de Luna, a man of very good commandement, having hidden himselfe in a house, did the next morning yeeld himselfe.

There was also taken that night a commissary of victuals called Juan de Vera, who confessed that there were in the Groine at our entry 500 souldiers being in seven companies which returned very weake (as appeareth by the small numbers of them) from the journey of England, namely :

Under Don Juan de Luna.	{ Don Diego Barran, a bastard sonne of the Marques of Santa Cruz; his company was that night in the Galeon.
	{ Don Antonio de Herera then at Madrid.
	{ Don Pedro de Manriques brother to the Earle of Paxides.
	{ Don Jeronimo de Mourray of the Order of S. Juan, with some of the towne were in the fort.
	{ Don Gomez de Caramasal then at Madrid. Captaine Manço Caucasos de Socas.

Also there came in that day of our landing from Retanzas the companies of Don Juan de Mosalle, and Don Pedro poure de Leon.

Also he saith that there was order given for baking of 300000 of biscuit, some in Batansas, some in Ribadeo, and the rest there.

There were then in the towne 2000 pipes of wine, and 150 in the ships.

That there were lately come unto the Marques of Seralba 300000 ducats.

That there were 1000 jarres of oile.

A great quantity of beanes, peaze, wheat, and fish.

That there were 3000 quintals of beefe.

And that not twenty dayes before, there came in three barks laden with match & harquebuzes.

Some others also found favour to be taken prisoners, but the rest falling into the hands of the common

souldiers, had their throats cut, to the number of 500, as I conjecture, first and last, after we had entred the towne; and in the entry thereof there was found every celler full of wine, whereon our men, by inordinate drinking, both grew themselves for the present senselesse of the danger of the shot of the towne, which hurt many of them being drunke, & tooke the first ground of their sicknesse; for of such was our first and chiefest mortality. There was also abundant store of victuals, salt, and all kinde of provision for shipping and the warre: which was confessed by the sayd Commissary of victuals taken there, to be the beginning of a magasin of all sorts of provision for a new voyage into England: whereby you may conjecture what the spoile thereof hath advantaged us, and prejudiced the king of Spaine.

The next morning about eight of the clocke the enemies abandoned their ships. And having overcharged the artillery of ye gallion, left her on fire, which burnt in terrible sort two dayes together, the fire and overcharging of the pieces being so great, as of fifty that were in her, there were not above sixteene taken out whole; the rest with overcharge of the powder being broken, and molten with heat of the fire, were taken out in broken pieces into divers shippes. The same day was the cloister on the South side of the towne entred by us, which joyned very neere to the wall of the towne, out of the chambers and other places whereof we beat into the same with our musquetiers.

The next day in the afternoone there came downe some 2000 men, gathered together out of the countrey, even to the gates of the towne, as resolutely (ledde by what spirit I know not) as though they would have entred the same: but at the first defence made by ours that had the guard there, wherein were slaine about eighteene of theirs, they tooke them to their heeles in the same disorder they made their approuch, and with greater speed then ours were able to follow: notwithstanding we followed after them more then a mile. The second day Colonell Huntley was sent into the countrey with three or foure hundred men, who brought home very great store of kine and sheepe for our reliefe.

The third day in the night the Generall had in purpose to take a long munition-house builded upon their wall, opening towards us, which would have given us great



advantage against them; but they knowing the commodity thereof for us, burnt it in the beginning of the evening; which put him to a new councell: for he had likewise brought some artillery to that side of the towne. During this time there happened a very great fire in the lower end of the towne; which, had it not bene by the care of the Generals heedily seene unto, and the fury thereof prevented by pulling downe many houses which were most in danger, as next unto them, had burnt all the provisions we found there, to our woonderfull hinderance.

The fourth day were planted under the gard of the cloister two demy-cansons, and two colverings against the towne, defended or gabbioned with a crosse wall, thorow the which our battery lay; the first and second tire whereof shooke all the wall downe, so as all the ordinance lay open to the enemy, by reason whereof some of the Canoniers were shot and some slaine. The Lieutenant also of the ordinance, M. Spencer, was slaine fast by Sir Edward Norris, Master thereof: whose valour being accompanied with an honourable care of defending that trust committed unto him, never left that place, till he received direction from the Generall his brother to cease the battery, which he presently did, leaving a guard upon the same for that day; and in the night following made so good defence for the place of the battery, as after there were very few or none annoyed therein. That day Captaine Goodwin had in commandement from the Generall, that when the assault should be given to the towne, he should make a proffer of an escalade on the other side, where he held his guard: but he (mistaking the signall that should have bene given) attempted the same long before the assault, and was shot in the mouth. The same day the Generall having planted his ordinance ready to batter, caused the towne to be summoned; in which summons they of the towne shot at our Drum: immediatly after that there was one hanged over the wall, and a parle desired; wherein they gave us to understand, that the man hanged was he that shot at the Drum before: wherein also they intreated to have faire warres, with promise of the same on their parts. The rest of the parle was spent in talking of Don Juan de Luna, and some other prisoners, and somewhat of the rendring of the towne, but not much, for they listened not greatly thereunto.

Generall Norris having by his skilfull view of the towne (which is almost all seated upon a rocke) found one place thereof mineable, did presently set workemen in hand withall; who after three dayes labour (and the seventh after we were entred the base towne) had bedded their powder, but indeed not farre enough into the wall. Against which time the breach made by the canon being thought assaultable, and companies appointed as well to enter the same, as that which was expected should be blown up by the mine: namely, to that of the canon, Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Philpot, who lead the Generals foot-companie, with whom also Captaine Yorke went, whose principall commandement was over the horsemen. And to that of the Myne, Captaine John Sampson, and Captaine Anthonie Wingfield Lieutenant Colonell to the Master of the Ordinance, with certaine selected out of divers Regiments. All these companies being in armes, and the assault intended to be given in al places at an instant, fire was put to the traine of the mine; but by reason the powder brake out backwards in a place where the cave was made too high, there could be nothing done in either place for that day. During this time Captaine Hinder was sent with some chosen out of every company into the countrey for provisions, whereof he brought in good store, and returned without losse.

The next day Captaine Anthony Sampson was sent out with some 500 to fetch in provisions for the army, who was encountred by them of the countrey, but he put them to flight, and returned with good spoile. The same night the Miners were set to worke againe, who by the second day after had wrought very well into the foundation of the wall. Against which time the companies aforesayd being in readinesse for both places (Generall Drake on the other side, with two or three hundred men in pinnesses, making proffer to attempt a strong fort upon an Iland before the towne, where he left more then thirty men) fire was given to the traine of the mine, which blew up halfe the tower under which the powder was planted. The assailants having in charge upon the effecting of the mine presently to give the assault, performed it accordingly: but too soone: for having entred the top of the breach, the other halfe of the tower, which with the first force of the powder was onely shaken and made loose, fell

upon our men : under which were buried about twenty or thirty, then being under that part of the tower. This so amazed our men that stood in the breach, not knowing from whence that terror came, as they forsooke their Commanders, and left them among the ruines of the mine. The two Ensignes of Generall Drake and Captaine Anthony Wingfield were shot in the breach, but their colours were rescued : the Generals by Captaine Sampsons Lieutenant, and Captaine Wingfields by himselfe. Amongst them that the wall fell upon, was Captaine Sydenham pitifully lost; who having three or foure great stones upon his lower parts, was held so fast, as neither himselfe could stirre, nor any reasonable company recover him. Notwithstanding the next day being found to be alive, there was ten or twelve lost in attempting to relieve him.

The breach made by the canon was woonderfully well assaulted by them that had the charge thereof, who brought their men to the push of the pike at the top of the breach. And being ready to enter, the loose earth (which was indeed but the rubbish of the outside of the wall) with the weight of them that were thereon slipped outwards from under their feet. Whereby did appeare halfe the wall unbattered. For let no man thinke that culverin or demy-canon can sufficiently batter a defensible rampire : and of those pieces which we had; the better of the demy-canons at the second shot brake in her carriages, so as the battery was of lesse force, being but of three pieces.

In our retreat (which was from both breaches thorow a narrow lane) were many of our men hurt : and Captaine Dolphin, who served very well that day, was hurt in the very breach. The failing of this attempt, in the opinion of all the beholders, and of such as were of best judgement, was the fall of the mine; which had doubtlesse succeeded, the rather, because the approach was unlooked for by the enemy in that place, and therefore not so much defence made there as in the other; which made the Generall grow to a new resolution : for finding that two dayes battery had so little beaten their wall, and that he had no better preparation to batter withall : he knew in his experience, there was no good to be done that way; which I thinke he first put in prooffe, to trie if by that terror he could get the upper towne, having no other

way to put it in hazzard so speedily, and which in my conscience had obtained the towne, had not the defendants bene in as great perill of their lives by the displeasure of their king in giving it up, as by the bullet or sword in defending the same. For that day before the assault, in the view of our army, they burnt a cloister within the towne, and many other houses adjoyning to the castle, to make it more defensible: whereby it appeared how little opinion themselves had of holding it against us, had not God (who would not have us suddenly made proud) layed that misfortune upon us.

Hereby it may appeare, that the foure canons, and other pieces of battery promised to the journey, and not performed, might have made her Majesty mistresse of the Groine: for though the mine were infortunate, yet if the other breach had bene such as the earth would have held our men thereon, I doe not thinke but they had entred it thorowly at the first assault given: which had bene more then I have heard of in our age. And being as it was, is no more then the Prince of Parma hath in winning of all his townes endured, who never entred any place at the first assault, nor above three by assault.

The next day the Generall hearing by a prisoner that was brought in, that the Conde de Andrada had assembled an armie of eight thousand at Puente de Burgos, sixe miles from thence in the way to Petance, which was but the beginning of an armie; in that there was a greater leavie readie to come thither under the Conde de Altemira, either in purpose to relieve the Groine, or to encampe themselves neere the place of our embarking, there to hinder the same; for to that purpose had the marquesse of Seralba written to them both the first night of our landing, as the Commissarie taken then confessed, or at the least to stop our further entrance into the Countrey, (for during this time, there were many incursions made of three or foure hundred at a time, who burnt, spoyled, and brought in victuals plentifully) the Generall, I say, hearing of this armie, had in purpose the next day following to visite them, agaynst whom hee caried but nine Regiments: in the vantgard were the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidney: in the Battaile, that of the Generall, of Colonell Lane, and Colonel Medkerk: and in the Rereward, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonell Huntley, and Colonell Brets Regiments;

leaving the other five Regiments with Generall Drake, for the guard of the Cloister and Artillerie. About ten of the clocke the next day, being the sixt of May, halfe a mile from the campe, we discovering the enemy, Sir Edward Norris, who commanded the vantgard in chiefe, appointed his Lieutenant Colonell Captaine Anthonie Wingfield to command the shot of the same, who divided them into three troupes; the one he appointed to Captaine Middleton to be conducted in a way on the left hand: another to Captaine Erington to take the way on the right hand, and the body of them (which were Musquetiers) Captaine Wingfield tooke himselfe, keeping the direct way of the march. But the way taken by Captaine Middleton met a little before with the way held by Captaine Wingfield, so as he giving the first charge upon the enemy, was in the instant seconded by Captaine Wingfield, who beat them from place to place (they having very good places of defence, and crosse walles which they might have held long) till they betooke them to their bridge, which is over a creeke comming out of the Sea, builded of stone upon arches. On the foot of the further side whereof, lay the Campe of the enemy very strongly entrenched, who with our shot beaten to the further end of the bridge, Sir Edward Norris marching in the point of the pikes, without stay passed to the bridge, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, Captaine Hinder, Captaine Fulford, and divers others, who found the way cleare over the same, but through an incredible volley of shot; for that the shot of their army flanked upon both sides of the bridge, the further end whereof was barricaded with barrells: but they who should have guarded the same, seeing the proud approach we made, forsooke the defence of the barricade, where Sir Edward entered, and charging the first defendant with his pike, with very earnestnesse in overthrusting, fell, and was grievously hurt at the sword in the head, but was most honourably rescued by the Generall his brother, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, and some other gentlemen: Captaine Hinder also having his Caske shot off, had five wounds in the head and face at the sword: and Captaine Fulford was shot into the left arme at the same encounter: yet were they so thorowly seconded by the Generall, who thrust himselfe so neere to give encouragement to the attempt (which was of woonderfull difficulty) as their

bravest men that defended that place being overthrowen, their whole army fell presently into rout, of whom our men had the chase three miles in foure sundry wayes, which they betooke themselves unto. There was taken the Standerd with the Kings armes, and borne before the Generall. How many two thousand men (for of so many consisted our vantgard) might kill in pursuit of foure sundry parties, so many you may imagine fell before us that day. And to make the number more great, our men having given over the execution, and returning to their standes, found many hidden in the Vineyards and hedges, which they dispatched. Also Colonell Medkerk was sent with his regiment three miles further to a Cloister, which he burnt and spoiled, wherein he found two hundred more, & put them to the sword. There were slaine in this fight on our side onely Captaine Cooper, and one private souldier; Captaine Barton was also hurt upon the bridge in the eye. But had you seene the strong baricades they had made on either side of the bridge, and how strongly they lay encamped thereabouts, you would have thought it a rare resolution of ours to give so brave a charge upon an army so strongly lodged. After the furie of the execution, the Generall sent the vantgard one way, and the battell another, to burne and spoile; so as you might have seene the countrey more then three miles compasse on fire. There was found very good store of munition and victuals in the Campe, some plate and rich apparell, which the better sort left behinde, they were so hotly pursued. Our sailers also landed in an Iland next adjoyning to our ships, where they burnt and spoiled all they found. Thus we returned to the Groine, bringing small comfort to the enemy within the same, who shot many times at us as we marched out; but not once in our comming backe againe.

The next day was spent in shipping our artillery landed for the battery, and of the rest taken at the Groine, which had it bene such as might have given us any assurance of a better battery, or had there bene no other purpose of our journey but that, I thinke the Generall would have spent some more time in the siege of the place.

The two last nights, there were that undertooke to fire the higher towne in one place, where the houses were builded upon the wall by the water side; but they within



suspecting as much, made so good defence against us, as they prevented the same. In our departure there was fire put into every house of the low towne, insomuch as I may justly say, there was not one house left standing in the base towne, or the cloister.

The next day being the eight of May, we embarked our army without losse of a man, which (had we not beaten the enemy at Puente de Burgos) had bene impossible to have done; for that without doubt they would have attempted something against us in our imbarcking: as appeared by the report of the Commissary aforesayd, who confessed, that the first night of our landing the Marques of Seralba writ to the Conde de Altemira, the Conde de Andrada, and to Terneis de Santisso, to bring all the forces against us that they could possible raise, thinking no way so good to assure that place, as to bring an army thither, wherewithall they might either besiege us in their base towne, if we should get it, or to lie betweene us and our place of imbarcking, to fight with us upon the advantage; for they had above 15000 souldiers under their commandements.

After we had put from thence, we had the winde so contrary, as we could not under nine dayes recover the Burlings: in which passage on the thirteenth day the Earle of Essex, and with him M. Walter Devereux his brother (a Gentleman of woonderfull great hope) Sir Roger Williams Colonell generall of the footmen, Sir Philip Butler, who hath alwayes bene most inward with him, and Sir Edward Wingfield, came into the fleet. The Earle having put himselfe into the journey against the opinion of the world, and as it seemed to the hazzard of his great fortune, though to the great advancement of his reputation, (for as the honourable cariage of himselfe towards all men doth make him highly esteemed at home; so did his exceeding forwardnesse in all services make him to be woondered at amongst us) who, I say, put off in the same winde from Falmouth, that we left Plimmouth in, where he lay, because he would avoid the importunity of messengers that were dayly sent for his returne, and some other causes more secret to himselfe, not knowing (as it seemed) what place the Generals purposed to land in, had bene as farre as Cadiz in Andaluzia, and lay up and downe about the South Cape, where he tooke some ships laden with corne, and brought them unto the fleet.

Also in his returne from thence to meet with our fleet, he fell with the Ilands of Bayon; and on that side of the river which Cannas standeth upon, he, with Sir Roger Williams, and those Gentlemen that were with him went on shore, with some men out of the ship he was in, whom the enemy, that held guard upon that coast, would not abide, but fled up into the countrey.

The 16 day we landed at Peniche in Portugall, under the shot of the castle, and above the waste in water, more then a mile from the towne, wherein many were in perill of drowning, by reason the winde was great, and the sea went high, which overthrew one boat, wherein five and twenty of Captaine Dolphins men perished. The enemy being five companies of Spaniards under the commandement of the Conde de Fuentes, sallied out of the towne against us, and in our landing made their approach close by the water side. But the Earle of Essex with Sir Roger Williams, and his brother, having landed sufficient number to make two troups, left one to holde the way by the water side, and led the other over the Sandhills; which the enemy seeing, drew theirs likewise further into the land; not, as we conjectured, to encounter us, but indeed to make their speedy passage away: notwithstanding, they did it in such sort, as being charged by ours which were sent out by the Colonell generall under Captaine Jackson, they stood the same even to the push of the pike: in which charge and at the push, Captaine Robert Piew was slaine. The enemy being fled further then we had reason to follow them, all our companies were drawn to the towne; which being unfortified in any place, we found undefended by any man against us. And therefore the Generall caused the castle to be summoned that night; which being abandoned by him that commanded it, a Portugall named Antonio de Aurid, being possessed thereof, desired but to be assured that Don Antonio was landed, whereupon he would deliver the same; which he honestly performed. There was taken out of the castle some hundred shot and pikes, which Don Emanuel furnished his Portugals withall, and twenty barrells of powder: so as possessing both the towne and the castle, we rested there one day: wherein some Friars and other poore men came unto their new king, promising in the name of their country next adjoyning, that within two dayes he should have a good supply of horse and foote

for his assistance. That day we remained there, the Generals company of horses were unshipped.

The Generals there fully resolved, that the Armie should march over land to Lisbone under the conduct of Generall Norris; and that Generall Drake should meete him in the river therof with the Fleete; that there should be one Company of foote left in garde of the Castle, and sixe in the ships: also that the sicke & hurt should remaine there with provisions for their cures. The Generall, to trie the event of the matter by expedition, the next day beganne to march in this sort: his owne Regiment, and the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonell Lane, and Colonell Medkerk, in the vantgard: Generall Drake, Colonell Devereux, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidneis in the battell: Sir James Hales, Sir Edward Wingfield, Colonell Umptons, Colonell Huntlies, and Colonell Brets in the arrereward. By that time our army was thus marshalled, Generall Drake, although hee were to passe by Sea, yet to make knowne the honorable desire he had of taking equall part of all fortunes with us, stood upon the ascent of an hill, by the which our battalions must of necessity march, and with a pleasing kindnesse tooke his leave severally of the Commanders of every regiment, wishing us all most happy successe in our journey over the land, with a constant promise that he would, if the injury of the weather did not hinder him, meet us in the river of Lisbon with our fleet. The want of cariages the first day was such, as they were enforced to cary their munition upon mens backs, which was the next day remedied.

In this march Captaine Crispe the Provost Marshall caused one who (contrary to the Proclamation published at our arrivall in Portugall) had broken up an house for pillage, to be hanged, with the cause of his death upon his breast, in the place where the act was committed: which good example providently given in the beginning of our march, caused the commandement to be more respectivly regarded all the journey after, by them whom feare of punishment doeth onely holde within compasse. The campe lodged that night at Lorinha: the next day we had intelligence all the way, that the enemy had made head of horse and foot against us at Torres Vedras, which we thought they would have held: but comming thither the second day of our march, not two houres before our

vantgard came in, they left the towne and the castle to the possession of Don Antonio.

There began the greatest want we had of victuals, especially of bread, upon a commandement given from the Generall, that no man should spoile the countrey, or take any thing from any Portugall: which was more respectively observed, then I thinke would have bene in our owne countrey, amongst our owne friends and kindred: but the countrey (contrary to promise) wholly neglected the provision of victuals for us, whereby we were driven for that time into a great scarcity. Which mooved the Colonell generall to call all the Colonels together, and with them to advise for some better course for our people: who thought it best, first to advertise the king what necessity we were in, before we should of our selves alter the first institution of abstinence. The Colonell generall having acquainted the Generall herewith, with his very good allowance thereof, went to the king; who after some expostulations used, tooke the more carefull order for our men, and after that our army was more plentifully relieved.

The third day we lodged our army in three sundry villages, the one battalion lying in Exarama de los Cavaleros, another in Exarama do Obispo, and the third in San Sebastian.

Captaine Yorke who commanded the Generals horse company, in this march made triall of the valour of the horsemen of the enemy; who by one of his Corporals charged with eight horses thorow 40 of them, & himselfe thorow more then 200 with some forty horses: who would abide him no longer then they could make way from him.

The next day we marched to Lores, and had divers intelligences that the enemy would tary us there: for the Cardinall had made publique promise to them of Lisbon, that he would fight with us in that place, which he might have done advantageously; for we had a bridge to passe over in the same place: but before our comming he dislodged, notwithstanding it appeared unto us that he had in purpose to encampe there; for we found the ground staked out where their trenches should have bene made: and their horsemen with some few shot shewed themselves upon an hill at our comming into that village; whom Sir Henry Norris (whose regiment had the point of the vant-

gard) thought to draw unto some fight, and therefore marched without sound of drumme, and somewhat faster then ordinary, thereby to get neere them before he were discovered, for he was shadowed from them by an hill that was betweene him and them: but before he could draw his companies any thing neere, they retired.

General Drakes regiment that night, for the commodity of good lodging, drew themselves into a village, more then one English mile from thence, and neere the enemy: who not daring to do any thing against us in foure dayes before, tooke that occasion, and in the next morning fell downe upon that regiment, crying, Viva el Rey Don Antonio, which was a generall salutation thorow all the Countrey as they came: whom our yoong Souldiers (though it were upon their guard, and before the watch were discharged) began to entertaine kindly, but having got within their guard, they fell to cut their throats: but the alarme being taken inwards, the officers of the two next Companies, whose Captaines (Captaine Sydnam and Captaine Young) were lately dead at the Groine, brought downe their colours and pikes upon them in so resolute maner, as they presently drave them to retire with losse: they killed of ours at their first entrance fourteene, and hurt sixe or seven.

The next day we lodged at Alvelana within three miles of Lisbon, where many of our souldiers drinking in two places of standing waters by the way were poisoned, and thereon presently died. Some do thinke it came rather by eating of hony, which they found in the houses plentifully. But whether it were by water or by hony, the poore men were poisoned.

That night the Earle of Essex, and Sir Roger Williams went out about eleven of the clocke with 1000 men to lie in ambuscade neere the towne, and having layed the same very neere, sent some to give the alarme unto the enemy: which was well performed by them that had the charge thereof, but the enemy refused to issue after them, so as the Earle returned assoone as it was light without doing any thing, though he had in purpose, and was ready to have given an honourable charge on them.

The 25 of May in the evening we came to the suburbs of Lisbon: at the very entrance whereof Sir Roger Williams calling Captaine Anthony Wingfield with him,

tooke thirty shot or thereabouts, and first scowred all the streets till they came very neere the towne; where they found none but olde folks and beggers, crying, Viva el Rey Don Antonio, and the houses shut up: for they had caried much of their wealth into the towne, and had fired some houses by the water side, full of corne and other provisions of victuals, least we should be benefited thereby, but yet left behinde them great riches in many houses.

The foure regiments that had the vantgard that day, which were Colonell Devereux, Sir Edward Norris, Colonell Sidneys, and Generall Drakes (whom I name as they marched) the Colonell generall caused to holde guard in the nearest streets of the Suburbs: the battell and the arreward stood in armes all the night in the field neere to Alcantara. Before morning Captaine Wingfield, by direction from the Colonell generall Sir Roger Williams, held guard with Sir Edward Norris his regiment in three places very neere the towne wall, and so held the same till the other regiments came in the morning. About midnight they within the towne burnt all their houses that stood upon their wall either within or without, least we possessing them, might thereby greatly have annoyed the towne.

The next morning Sir Roger Williams attempted (but not without peril) to take a Church called S. Antonio, which joyned to the wall of the towne, and would have bene a very evill neighbor to the towne: but the enemy having more easie entry into it then we gained it before us. The rest of that morning was spent in quartering the battell and arrereward in the Suburbs called Bona Vista, and in placing Musquetiers in houses, to front their shot upon the wall, who from the same scowred the great streets very dangerously.

By this time our men being thorowly weary with our sixe dayes march, and the last nights watch, were desirous of rest: whereof the enemy being advertised, about one or two of the clocke sallied out of the towne, and made their approach in three severall streets upon us, but chiefly in Colonell Brets quarter: who (as most of the army was) being at rest, with as much speed as he could, drew his men into armes, and made head against them so thorowly, as himselfe was slaine in the place, Captaine Carsey shot thorow the thigh, of which hurt he died within foure



dayes after, Capitaine Carre slaine presently, and Capitaine Cave hurt (but not mortally) who were all of his regiment.

This resistance made aswell here, as in other quarters where Colonell Lane and Colonell Medkerk commanded, put them to a sudden foule retreat; insomuch, as the Earle of Essex had the chase of them even to the gates of the high towne, wherein they left behinde them many of their best Commanders: their troupe of horsemen also came out, but being charged by Capitaine Yorke, withdrew themselves againe. Many of them also left the streets, and betooke them to houses which they found open: for the Sergeant major Capitaine Wilson slew in one house with his owne hands three or foure, and caused them that were with him to kill many others. Their losse I can assure you did triple ours, aswell in quality as in quantity.

During our march to this place, Generall Drake with the whole fleet was come into Cascais, and possessed the towne without any resistance: many of the inhabitants at their discovery of our navy, fledde with their baggage into the mountaines, and left the towne for any man that would possesse it, till Generall Drake sent unto them by a Portugall Pilot which he had on boord, to offer them all peaceable kindnesse, so farre foorth as they would accept of their King, and minister necessities to the army he had brought; which offer they joyfully imbraced, and presently sent two chiefe men of their towne, to signifie their loyalty to Don Antonio, and their honest affections to our people. Whereupon the Generall landed his companies not farre from the Cloister called San Domingo, but not without perill of the shot of the castle, which being guarded with 65 Spaniards, held still against him.

As our fleet were casting ancre when they came first into that road, there was a small ship of Brasil that came from thence, which bare with them, and seemed by striking her sailes, as though she would also have ancred: but taking her fittest occasion hoised againe, and would have passed up the river, but the Generall presently discerning her purpose, sent out a pinnesse or two after her, which forced her in such sort, as she ran herselfe upon the Rocks: all the men escaped out of her, and the lading (being many chests of sugar) was made nothing woorth, by the salt water. In his going thither also, he

tooke ships of the port of Portugall, which were sent from thence, with fifteene other from Pedro Vermendes Xantes Sergeant major of the same place, laden with men and victuals to Lisbon: the rest that escaped put into Setuvel.

The next day it pleased Generall Norris to call all the Colonels together, and to advise with them, whether it were more expedient to tary there to attend the forces of the Portugall horse and foot, whereof the King had made promise, and to march some convenient number to Cascais to fetch our artillery and munition, which was all at our ships, saving that which for the necessity of the service was brought along with us: whereunto, some caried away with the vaine hope of Don Antonio, that most part of the towne stood for us, held it best to make our abode there, and to send some 3000 for our artillery: promising to themselves, that the enemy being wel beaten the day before, would make no more sallies: some others (whose unbeliefe was very strong of any hope from the Portugall) perswaded rather to march wholly away, then to be any longer carried away with the opinion of things, whereof there was so little appearance. The Generall not willing to leave any occasion of blotte to be layed upon him for his speedy going from thence, nor to lose any more time by attending the hopes of Don Antonio; tolde them, that though the expedition of Portugall were not the onely purpose of their journey, but an adventure therein (which if it succeeded prosperously, might make them sufficiently rich, and woonderfull honourable) and that they had done so much already in triall thereof, as what end soever happened, could nothing impaire their credits: yet in regard of the Kings last promise, that he should have that night 3000 men armed of his owne Countrey, he would not for that night dislodge. And if they came, thereby to make him so strong, that he might send the like number for his munition, he would resolve to trie his fortune for the towne. But if they came not, he found it not convenient to divide his forces, by sending any to Cascais, and keeping a remainder behinde, sithence he saw them the day before so boldly sally upon his whole army, and knew that they were stronger of Souldiours armed within the towne, then he was without: and that before our returne could be from Cascais, the expected more supplies from all places,

of Souldiours: for the Duke of Bragança, and Don Francisco de Toledo were looked for with great reliefe. Whereupon his conclusion was, that if the 3000 promised came not that night, to march wholly away the next morning.

It may be here demanded, why a matter of so great moment should be so slenderly regarded, as that the Generall should march with such an army against such an enemy, before he knew either the fulnesse of his owne strength, or certaine meanes how he should abide the place when he should come to it. Wherein I pray you remember the Decrees made in the Councell at Peniche, and confirmed by publique protestation the first day of our march, that our navy should meet us in the river of Lisbon, in the which was the store of all our provisions, and so the meane of our tariance in that place, which came not, though we continued till we had no munition left to entertaine a very small fight. We are also to consider, that the King of Portugall (whether carried away with imagination by the advertisements he received from the Portugals, or willing by any promise to bring such an army into his Countrey, thereby to put his fortune once more in triall) assured the Generall, that upon his first landing, there would be a revolt of his subjects: whereof there was some hope given at our first entry to Peniche, by the maner of the yeelding of that towne and fort, which made the Generall thinke it most convenient speedily to march to the principall place, thereby to give courage to the rest of the Countrey. The Friers also and the poore people that came unto him promised, that within two dayes the gentlemen and others of the Countrey would come plentifully in: within which two dayes came many more Priests, and some very few gentlemen on horsebacke; but not til we came to Torres Vedras: where they that noted the course of things how they passed, might somewhat discover the weaknesse of that people. There they tooke two dayes more; and at the end thereof referred him till our comming to Lisbon, with assurance, that so soone as our army should be seene there, all the inhabitants would be for the King and fall upon the Spaniards.

After two nights tariance at Lisbon, the King, as you have heard, promised a supply of 3000 foot, and some horse: but all his appointments being expired, even to the

last of a night, all his horse could not make a cornet of 40, nor his foot furnish two ensignes fully, although they caried three or foure colours: and these were altogether such as thought to inrich themselves by the ruine of their neighbours: for they committed more disorders in every place where we came by spoile, then any of our owne.

The Generall, as you see, having done more then before his comming out of England was required by the King, and given credit to his many promises, even to the breach of the last, he desisted not to perswade him to stay yet nine dayes longer: in which time he might have engaged himselfe further, then with any honour he could come out of againe, by attempting a towne fortified, wherein were more men armed against us, then we had to oppugne them withall, our artillery and munition being fifteene miles from us, and our men then declining; for there was the first shew of any great sicknesse amongst them. Whereby it seemeth, that either his prelacy did much abuse him in perswading him to hopes, whereof after two or three dayes he saw no semblance: or he like a silly lover, who promiseth himselfe favor by importuning a coy mistresse, thought by our long being before his towne, that in the end taking pity on him, they would let him in.

What end the Friars had by following him with such devotion, I know not, but sure I am, the Laity did respite their homage till they might see which way the victory would sway; fearing to shew themselves apparantly unto him, least the Spaniard should after our departure (if we prevailed not) call them to account: yet sent they under hand messages to him of obedience, thereby to save their owne, if he became King; but indeed very well contented to see the Spaniards and us try by blowes, who should carry away the crowne. For they be of so base a mould, as they can very wel subject themselves to any government, where they may live free from blowes, and have liberty to become rich, being loth to endure hazzard either of life or goods. For durst they have put on any minds thorowly to revolt, they had three woonderfull good occasions offered them during our being there.

Themselves did in generall confesse, that there were not above 5000 Spaniards in that part of the Countrey, of which number the halfe were out of the towne till the last day of our march: during which time, how easily they might have prevailed against the rest, any man may

conceive. But upon our approach they tooke them all in, and combined themselves in generall to the Cardinall.

The next day after our comming thither, when the sally was made upon us by their most resolute Spaniards, how easily might they have kept them out, or have given us the gate which was held for their retreat, if they had had any thought thereof.

And two dayes after our comming to Cascais, when 6000 Spaniards and Portugals came against us as farre as S. Julians by land, as you shal presently heare (all which time I thinke there were not many Spaniards left in the towne) they had a more fit occasion to shew their devotion to the King, then any could be offered by our tarying there. And they could not doubt, that if they had shut them out, but that we would have fought with them upon that advantage, having sought them in Galitia upon disadvantage to beat them: and having taken so much paines to seeke them at their owne houses, whereof we gave sufficient testimony in the same accident. But I thinke the feare of the Spaniard had taken so deepe impression within them, as they durst not attempt any thing against them upon any hazzard.

For, what civill countrey hath ever suffered themselves to be conquered by so few men as they were; to be deprived of their naturall King, and to be tyrannized over thus long, but they? And what countrey, living in slavery under a stranger whom they naturally hate, having an army in the field to fight for them and their liberty, would lie still with the yoke upon their necks, attending if any strangers would unburthen them, without so much as rousing themselves under it, but they? They will promise much in speeches, for they be great talkers, whom the Generall had no reason to distrust without triall, and therefore marched on into their countrey: but they performed little in action, whereof we could have had no prooffe without this thorow triall. Wherein he hath discovered their weaknesse, and honorably performed more then could be in reason expected of him: which had he not done, would not these maligners, who seeke occasions of slander, have reported him to be suspicious of a people, of whose infidelity he had no testimony: and to be fearefull without cause, if he had refused to give credit to their promises without any adventure? Let no frivolously questionist therefore further enquire why he

marched so many dayes to Lisbon, and taried there so small a while.

The next morning, seeing no performance of promise kept, he gave order for our marching away; himselfe, the Earle of Essex, and Sir Roger Williams remaining with the stand that was made in the high street, till the whole army was drawn into the field, and so marched out of the towne, appointing Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Anthony Wingfield in the arrereward of them with the shot; thinking that the enemy (as it was most likely) would have issued out upon our rising; but they were otherwise advised. When we were come into the field, every battalion fell into that order which by course appertained unto them, and so marched that night unto Cascais. Had we marched thorow his Countrey as enemies, our Souldiers had beene well supplied in all their wants: but had we made enemies of the Suburbs of Lisbon, we had beene the richest army that ever went out of England: for besides the particular wealth of every house, there were many Warehouses by the water side full of all sorts of rich marchandizes.

In our march that day the gallies which had somewhat, but not much, annoyed us at Lisbon, (for that our way lay along the river) attended us till we were past S. Julians, bestowing many shot amongst us, but did no harme at all, saving that they strooke off a gentlemans leg, & killed the Sergeant majors moile under him. The horsemen also followed us afarre off, and cut off as many sicke men as were not able to holde in march, nor we had cariage for.

After we had bene two dayes at Cascais, we had intelligence by a Frier, that the enemy was marching strongly towards us, and then came as farre as S. Julian: which newes was so welcome to the Earle of Essex and the Generals, as they offered every one of them to give the messenger an hundred crownes if they found them in the place; for the Generall desiring nothing more then to fight with them in field roome, dispatched that night a messenger with a trumpet, by whom he writ a cartell to the Generall of their army, wherein he gave them the lie, in that it was by them reported that we dislodged from Lisbon in disorder and feare of them (which indeed was most false) for that it was five of the clocke in the morning before we fell into armes, and then went in such sort, as



they had no courage to follow out upon us. Also he challenged him therein, to meet him the next morning with his whole army, if he durst attend his comming, and there to try out the justnesse of their quarrel by battell: by whom also the Earle of Essex (who preferring the honor of the cause, which was his countreys, before his owne safety) sent a particular cartel, offering himselfe against any of theirs, if they had any of his quality; or if they would not admit of that; sixe, eight, or tenne, or as many as they would appoint, should meet so many of theirs in the head of our battell to trie their fortunes with them; and that they should have assurance of their returne and honourable intreaty.

The Generall accordingly made all his army ready by three of the clocke in the morning and marched even to the place where they had encamped, but they were dislodged in the night in great disorder, being taken with a sudden feare that we had bene come upon them, as the Generall was the next day certainly informed: so as the Trumpet followed them to Lisbon, but could not get other answere to either of his letters, but threatening to be hanged, for daring to bring such a message. Howbeit the Generall had caused to be written upon the backside of their pasport, that if they did offer any violence unto the messengers, he would hang the best prisoners he had of theirs: which made them to advise better of the matter, and to returne them home; but without answere.

After our army came to Cascais, and the castle summoned, the Castellán thereof granted, that upon five or sixe shot of the canon he would deliver the same, but not without sight thereof. The Generall thinking that his distresse within had bene such for want of men or victuals as he could not holde it many dayes, because he saw it otherwise defensible enough, determined rather to make him yeeld to that necessity, then to bring the cannon, and therefore onely set a guard upon the same, least any supply of those things which he wanted should be brought unto them. But he still standing upon those conditions, the Generall about two dayes before he determined to goe to Sea, brought three or foure pieces of battery against it: upon the first tire whereof he surrendered, and compounded to go away with his baggage and armies; he had one canon, two culverings, one

basiliske, and three or foure other field pieces, three-score and five Souldiours, very good store of munition, and victualles enough in the Castle; insomuch as he might have held the same longer then the Generall had in purpose to tarry there. One company of footmen was put into the guard thereof, till the artillery was taken out, and our army embarked; which without having that fort, we could not without great perill have done. When we were ready to set saile (one halfe of the fort being by order from the Generall blowen up by mine) the company was drawne away.

During the time we lay in the road, our fleet began the second of June, and so continued sixe dayes after to fetch in some hulks to the number of threescore, of Dansik, Stetin, Rostock, Lubeck & Hamburgh, laden with Spanish goods, and as it seemed for the kings provision, and going for Lisbon: their principall lading was Corne, Masts, Cables, Copper, and Waxe: amongst which were some of great burthen woonderful well builded for sailing, which had no great lading in them, and therefore it was thought that they were brought for the kings provision, to reinforce his decayed navy: whereof there was the greater likelihood, in that the owner of the greatest of them which caried two misnes, was known to be very inward with the Cardinall, who rather then he would be taken with his ships, committed himselfe unto his small boat, wherein he recovered S. Sebastians: into the which our men, that before were in flieboats, were shipped, and the flieboats sent home with an offer of corne, to the value of their hire. But the winde being good for them for Rochel, they chose rather to lose their corne then the winde, and so departed. The Generall also sent his horses with them, and from thence shipped them into England.

The third of June, Colonell Devereux and Colonell Sidney, being both very sicke, departed for England, who in the whole journey had shewed themselves very forward to all services, and in their departure very unwilling to leave us: that day we imbarked all our army, but lay in the road untill the eight thereof.

The sixt day the Earle of Essex, upon receipt of letters from her Majesty, by them that brought in the victuals, presently departed towards England, with whom Sir Roger Williams was very desirous to go, but found the

Generals very unwilling he should do so, in that he bare the next place unto them, and if they should miscarry, was to command the army. And the same day there came unto us two small barks that brought tidings of some other shippes come out of England with victuals, which were passed upwards to the Cape: for meeting with whom, the second day after we set saile for that place, in purpose after our meeting with them to go with the Iles of Açores, the second day, which was the ninth, we met with them comming backe againe towards us, whose provision little answered our expectation. Notwithstanding we resolved to continue our course for the Ilands.

About this time was the Marchant-Royall, with three or foure other ships, sent to Peniche, to fetch away the companies that were left there; but Captaine Barton having received letters from the Generals that were sent overland, was departed before, not being able by reason of the enemies speedy marching thither, either to bring away the artillery, or all his men, according to the direction those letters gave him; for he was no sooner gone, then the enemy possessed the town and castle, and shot at our ships as they came into the road.

At this time also was the Ambassador from the Emperor of Marocco, called Reys Hamet Bencasamp, returned, and with him M. Ciprian, a Gentleman of good place and desert, was sent from Don Antonio, and Captaine Ousley from the Generals to the Emperor.

The next morning the nine gallies which were sent not five dayes before out of Andaluzia for the strengthening of the river of Lisbon (which being joyned with the other twelve that were there before, though we lay hard by them at S. Julians, durst never make any attempt against us) upon our departure from thence were returning home, and in the morning being a very dead calme, in the dawning thereof, fell in the winde of our fleet, in the uttermost part whereof they assailed one stragling barke of Plimmouth, of the which Captaine Caverley being Captaine of the land company, with his Lieutenant, the Master, and some of the Mariners abandoned the ship, and betooke them to the ship-boats, whereof one, in which the Master and the Captaine were, was overrunne with the gallies, and they drowned. There were also two hulks stragled farre from the strength of the other ships, which were so calmed, as

neither they could get to us, nor we to them, though all the great shippes towed with their boats to have relieved them, but could not be recovered; in one of which was Captaine Minshaw with his company, who fought with them to the last, yea after his ship was on fire, which whether it was fired by himselfe or by them we could not wel discerne, but might easily judge by his long and good fight, that the enemy could not but sustaine much losse: who setting also upon one other hulke wherein was but a Lieutenant, and he very sicke, were by the valour of the Lieutenant put off, although they had first beaten her with their artillery, and attempted to boord her. And seeing also one other hulke a league off, a sterne off us, they made towards her: but finding that she made ready to fight with them, they durst not further attempt her: whereby it seemed, their losse being great in the other fights, they were loth to proceed any further.

From that day till the 19 of June, our direction from the Generall was, that if the wind were Northerly, we should plie for the Açores; but if Southerly, for the Iles of Bayon. We lay with contrary windes about that place and the Rocke, till the Southerly winde prevailing carried us to Bayon: part of our ships to the number of 25, in a great winde which was two dayes before, having lost the Admirals and fleet, according to their direction, fell in the morning of that day with Bayon, among whom was Sir Henry Norris in the Ayde; who had in purpose (if the Admirals had not come in) with some 500 men out of them all to have landed, and attempted the taking of Vigo. The rest of the fleet held with Generall Drake, who though he were two dayes before put upon those Ilands, cast off againe to sea for the Açores: but remembering how unprovided he was for that journey and seeing that he had lost company of his great ships, returned for Bayon, and came in there that night in the evening, where he passed up the river more then a mile above Vigo.

The next morning we landed as many as were able to fight, which were not in the whole above 2000 men, (for in the 17 dayes we continued on boord we had cast many of our men overboord) with which number the Colonell generall marched to the towne of Vigo, neere the which when he approched, he sent Captaine Anthony Wingfield with a troupe of shot to enter one side of

the same, who found upon every streets end a strong barricade, but altogether abandoned; for having entred the towne, he found but one man therein, but might see them making way before him to Bayon. On the other side of the towne entred Generall Drake with Captaine Richard Wingfield, whose approach on that side (I thinke) made them leave the places they had so artificially made for defence: there were also certaine shippes sent with the Vice-admirall to lie close before the towne, to beat upon the same with their artillery.

In the afternoone were sent 300 under the conduct of Captaine Petuin and Captaine Henry Poure, to burne another village betwixt that and Bayon, called Borsis, and as much of the country as the day would give them leave to do; which was a very pleasant rich valley: but they burnt it all, houses and corne, as did others on the other side of the towne, both that and the next day, so as the countrey was spoiled seven or eight miles in length. There was found great store of wine in the towne, but not any thing els: for the other dayes warning of the shippes that came first in, gave them a respite to cary all away.

The next morning by breake of the day the Colonell generall (who in the absence of the Generals that were on boord their ships, commanded that night on shore) caused all our companies to be drawn out of the towne, and sent in two troupes to put fire in every house of the same: which done, we imbarked againe.

This day there were certaine Mariners which (without any direction) put themselves on shore, on the contrary side of the river from us for pillage; who were beaten by the enemy from their boats, and punished by the Generals for their offer, in going without allowance.

The reasons why we attempted nothing against Bayon were before shewed to be want of artillery, and may now be alledged to be the small number of our men: who should have gone against so strong a place, manned with very good souldiers, as was shewed by Juan de Vera taken at the Groine, who confessed that there were sixe hundred olde Souldiers in garrison there of Flanders, and the Tercios of Naples, lately also returned out of the journey of England.

Under the leading of	{	Capitan Puebla.
		Christofero Vasques de Viralta a souldier of Flanders.
		Don Pedro Camascho, del tercio de Napoles.
		Don Francisco de Cespedes.
		Cap. Juan de Solo, del tercio de Naples.
		Don Diego de Cassava.
		Cap. Sauban.

Also he sayth there be 18 pieces of brasse, and foure of yron, lately layed upon the walles of the towne, besides them that were there before.

The same day the Generals seeing what weake estate our army was drawn into by sicknesse, determined to man and victuall twenty of the best ships for the Ilands of Açores with Generall Drake, to see if he could meet with the Indian fleet, and Generall Norris to returne home with the rest: And for the shifting of men and victualles accordingly, purposed the next morning to fall downe to the Ilands of Bayon againe, and to remaine there that day. But Generall Drake, according to their apointment, being under saile never strooke at the Ilands, but put straight to sea; whom all the fleet followed saving three and thirty, which being in the river further then he, and at the entrance out of the same, finding the winde and tide too hard against them, were inforced to cast ancre there for that night; amongst whom, by good fortune, was the Foresight, and in her sir Edward Norris. And the night folowing, Generall Norris being driven from the rest of the Fleet by a great storme, (for all that day was the greatest storme we had all the time we were out) came againe into the Ilands, but not without great perill, he being forced to trust to a Spanish Fisher-man (who was taken two dayes before at sea) to bring him in.

The next morning he called a council of as many as he found there, holding the purpose he had concluded with sir Francis Drake the day before, and directed all their courses for England, tarying there all that day to water and helpe such with victuall, as were left in wonderfull distresse by having the victuals that came last, caried away the day before to sea.

The next day he set saile, and the 10 day after, which was the 2 of July came into Plimmouth, where he found sir Francis Drake and all the Queens ships, with many of the others but not all: for the Fleet was dispersed into



other harbors, some led by a desire of returning from whence they came, and some being possessed of the hulks, sought other Ports from their Generals eie, where they might make their private commoditie of them, as they have done to their great advantage.

Presently upon their arrivall there, the Generals dissolved all the armie saving 8 companies which are yet held together, giving every souldier five shillings in money, and the armes hee bare to make money of, which was more then could by any means be due unto them: for they were not in service three moneths, in which time they had their victuals, which no man will value at lesse then halfe their pay, for such is the allowance in her majesties ships to her mariners, so as there remained but 10 shillings a moneth more to be paid, for which there was not any private man but had apparel and furniture to his owne use, so as every common souldier discharged, received more in money, victuals, apparell and furniture, then his pay did amount unto.

Notwithstanding, there be even in the same place where those things have passed, that either do not or will not conceive the souldiers estate, by comparing their povertie and the shortnesse of the time together, but lay some injuries upon the Generals and the action. Where, and by the way, but especially here in London, I find there have bene some false prophets gone before us, telling strange tales. For as our countrey doeth bring foorth many gallant men, who desirous of honour doe put themselves into the actions thereof, so doeth it many more dull spirited, who though their thoughts reach not so high as others, yet doe they listen how other mens acts doe passe, and either beleeving what any man will report unto them, are willingly caried away into errors, or tied to some greater mans faith, become secretaries against a noted trueth. The one sort of these doe take their opinions from the high way side, or at the furthest goe no further then Pauls to enquire what hath bene done in this voiage: where, if they meet with any, whose capacitie before their going out could not make them live, nor their valour maintaine their reputation, and who went onely for spoile, complaining on the hardnesse and misery thereof, they thinke they are bound to give credite to these honest men who were parties therein, and in very charitie become of their opinions. The others to

make good the faction they are entred into, if they see any of those malecontents (as every journey yeeldeth some) doe runne unto them like tempting spirits to confirme them in their humour, with assurance that they foresaw before our going out what would become thereof.

Be ye not therefore too credulous in beleaving every report: for you see there have bene many more beholders of these things that have passed, then actors in the same; who by their experience, not having the knowledge of the ordinarie wants of the warre, have thought, that to lie hard, not to have their meat well dressed, to drinke sometimes water, to watch much, or to see men die and be slaine, was a miserable thing; and not having so given their mindes to the service, as they are any thing instructed thereby, doe for want of better matter discourse ordinarily of these things: whereas the journey (if they had with that judgement seene into it, which their places required) hath given them far more honorable purpose and argument of discourse.

These mens discontentments and mislikings before our comming home have made mee labour thus much to instruct you in the certaintie of every thing, because I would not willingly have you miscaried in the judgements of them, wherein you shall give me leave somewhat to dilate upon a question, which I onely touched in the beginning of my letter, namely, whether it bee more expedient for our estate to maintain an offensive war against the king of Spaine in the Low countries, or as in this journey, to offend him in his neerer territories, seeing the grounds of arguing thereof are taken from the experience which the actions of this journey have given us.

There is no good subject that wil make question, whether it be behoofeful for us to hold friendship with these neighbours of ours or no, aswell in respect of the infinite proportion of their shipping, which must stand either with us or against us; as of the commoditie of their harbors, especially that of Vlishing, by the favour whereof our Navie may continually keepe the Narrow seas, and which would harbour a greater Fleete agaynst us, then the Spaniard shall need to annoy us withall, who being now distressed by our common enemy, I thinke it most expedient for our safetie to defend them, and if it may be, to give them a reentrie into that they have of

late yeeres lost unto him. The one without doubt her majestie may do without difficultie, and in so honorable sort as he shal never be able to dispossesse her or them of any the townes they now hold. But if any man thinke that the Spaniard may be expelled from thence more speedily or conveniently by keeping an armie there, then by sending one against him into his owne countrey: let him foresee of how many men and continuall supplies that armie must consist, and what intollerable expenses it requireth. And let him thinke by the example of the duke of Alva, when the prince of Orange had his great armie agaynst him; and of Don Juan, when the States had their mightie assembly against him, how this wise enemy, with whom we are to deale, may but by prolonging to fight with us, leave us occasions enough for our armie within few moneths to mutine and breake; or by keeping him in his townes leave us a spoyled field: where though our provision may bee such of our owne as we starve not, yet is our weaknesse in any strange countrey such, as with sicknes and miserie we shall be dissolved. And let him not forget what a continual burthen we hereby lay upon us, in that to repossesse those countreys which have been lately lost, will be a warre of longer continuance then we shall be able to endure.

In the very action whereof, what should hinder the king of Spaine to bring his forces home unto us? For it is certaine he hath long since set downe in councell, that there is no way for him wholly to recover those Low countries, but by bringing the warre upon England it selfe, which hath alwayes assisted them against him: and that being determined, and whereunto he hath bene vehemently urged by the last yeeres losse he sustained upon our coasts, and the great dishonor this journey hath laid upon him; no doubt if we shall give him respite to doe it, but he will mightily advance his purpose, for he is richly able thereunto, and wonderfull desirous of revenge.

To encounter wherewith, I wish even in true and honest zeale to my Countrey, that we were all perswaded that there is no such assured meanes for the safetie of our estate, as to busy him with a well furnished armie in Spaine, which hath so many goodly Bayes open, as we may land without impeachment as many men as shall be

needfull for such an invasion. And having an armie of 20000 roially furnished there, we shall not need to take much care for their payment: for shal not Lisbon be thought able to make so few men rich, when the Suburbs thereof were found so abounding in riches, as had we made enemie of them, they had largely enriched us all? Which with what small losse it may be won, is not here to shew; but why it was not won by us, I have herein shewed you. Or is not the spoyle of Sivil sufficient to pay more then shall bee needfull to bee sent against it, whose defence (as that of Lisbon) is onely force of men, of whom how many may for the present be raised, is not to be esteemed, because wee have discovered what kind of men they be, even such as will never abide ours in field, nor dare withstand any resolute attempt of ours agaynst them: for during the time we were in many places of their countrey, they cannot say that ever they made 20 of our men turne their faces from them. And be there not many other places of lesse difficultie to spoyle, able to satisfie our forces?

But admit, that if upon this alarme that we have given him, he tendering his naturall and neerest soile before his further remmooved off governments, do draw his forces of old souldiers out of the Low countreys for his owne defence, is not the victory then won by drawing and holding them from thence, for the which we should have kept an armie there at a charge by many partes greater then this, and not stirred them?

Admit further our armie be impeached from landing there, yet by keeping the Sea, and possessing his principall roades, are we not in possibilitie to meet with his Indian marchants, and very like to prevent him of his provisions comming out of the East countreys; without the which, neither the subject of Lisbon is long able to live, nor the king able to maintaine his Navie? For though the countrey of Portugall doe some yeeres find themselves corne, yet are they never able to victuall the least part of that Citie. And albeit the king of Spaine be the richest prince in Christendome, yet can he neither draw cables, hewe mastes, nor make poulder out of his mettals, but is to be supplied of them all from thence. Of whom (some will hold opinion) it is no reason to make prize, because they bee not our enemies: and that our disagreement with them will impeach the trade of our marchants,

and so impoverish our countrey. Of whose mind I can hardly be drawn to be: For if my enemie fighting with me doe breake his sword, so as I thereby have the advantage against him; what shall I thinke of him that putteth a new sword into his hand to kill me withall? And may it not bee thought more fitting for us in these times to loose our trades of Cloth, then by suffering these mischiefes, to put in hazard whether we shall have a countrey left to make cloth in or no? And yet though neither Hamburgh, Embden, nor Stode doe receive our cloth, the necessary use thereof in all places is such, as they will find means to take it from us with our sufficient commoditie.

And admit (which were impossible) that we damnifie him neither at sea nor land (for unlesse it be with a much more mightie armie then ours, he shall never be able to withstand us) yet shall we by holding him at his home, free our selves from the warre at our owne wals: the benefit whereof let them consider that best can judge, and have observed the difference of invading, and being invaded; the one giving courage to the souldier, in that it doeth set before him commoditie and reputation; the other a fearefull terror to the countrey-man, who if by chance he play the man yet is he never the richer: and who knowing many holes to hide himselfe in, will trie them all before he put his life in perill by fighting: whereas the Invader casteth up his account before hee goeth out, and being abroad must fight to make himselfe way, as not knowing what place or strength to trust unto. I will not say what I observed in our countrey-men when the enemy offred to assaile us here: but I wish that all England knew what terror we gave to the same people that frightened us, by visiting them at their owne houses.

Were not Alexanders fortunes great against the mightie Darius, onely in that his Macedonians thirsted after the wealth of Persia, and were bound to fight it out to the last man, because the last man knew no safer way to save himselfe then by fighting? Whereas the Persians either trusting to continue stil masters of their wealth by yeelding to the Invader, began to practise against their owne king: or having more inward hopes, did hide themselves even to the last, to see what course the Conquerour would take in his Conquest. And did not the advise of Scipio, though mightily impugned at the first, proove very sound

and honourable to his countrey? Who seeing the Romans wonderfully amazed at the neerenesse of their enemies Forces, and the losses they daily sustained by them, gave counsell rather by way of diversion to cary an army into Afrike, and there to assaile, then by a defensive warre at home to remaine subject to the common spoiles of an assailing enemy. Which being put in execution drew the enemy from the gates of Rome, and Scipio returned home with triumph: albeit his beginnings at the first were not so fortunate against them, as ours have bene in this smal time against the Spaniard. The good successe whereof may encourage us to take armes resolutely against him. And I beseech God it may stirre up all men that are particularly interested therein, to bethinke themselves how small a matter will assure them of their safetie, by holding the Spaniard at a Baie, so farre off: whereas, if we give him leave quietly to hatch and bring foorth his preparations, it will be with danger to us all.

He taketh not armes against us by any pretense of title to the crowne of this realme, nor led altogether with an ambitious desire to command our countrey, but with hatred towards our whole Nation and religion. Her majesties Scepter is already given by Bull to another, the honours of our Nobilitie are bestowed for rewards upon his attendants, our Clergie, our Gentlemen, our Lawyers, yea all men of what condition soever are offered for spoyle unto the common souldier. Let every man therefore, in defence of the libertie and plentie he hath of long enjoyed, offer a voluntarie contribution of the smallest part of their store for the assurance of the rest. It were not much for every Justice of peace, who by his blew coat protecteth the properest and most serviceable men at every muster from the warres, to contribute the charge that one of these idle men doe put him to for one yeere: nor for the Lawyer, who riseth by the dissensions of his neighbours, to take but one yeeres gifts (which they call Fees) out of his coffers. What would it hinder every officer of the Exchequer, and other of her Majesties courts, who without checke doe suddenly grow to great wealth, honestly to bring foorth the mysticall commoditie of one yeeres profits? Or the Clergie, who looke precisely for the Tenths of every mans increase, simply to bring forth the Tenth of one yeeres gathering, and in thankfulnessse



to her Majestie, (who hath continued for all our safeties a most chargeable warre both at land & sea) bestow the same for her honor & their owne assurance, upon an army which may make this bloody enemy so to know himselfe and her Majesties power, as he shall bethinke him what it is to moove a stirring people? Who, though they have received some small checke by the sicknesse of this last journey, yet doubt I not, but if it were made knowne, that the like voyage were to bee supported by a generalitie, (that might and would beare the charge of a more ample provision) but there would of all sortes most willingly put themselves into the same: some caried with an honorable desire to be in action, and some in love of such would affectionately folow their fortunes; some in thirsting to revenge the death and hurts of their brethren, kinred, and friends: and some in hope of the plentifull spoyles to be found in those countreys, having bene there already and returned poore, would desire to goe againe, with an expectation to make amends for the last: and all, in hatred of that cowardly proud Nation, and in contemplation of the true honour of our owne, would with courage take armes to hazard their lives agaynst them, whom every good Englishman is in nature bound to hate as an implacable enemy to England, thirsting after our blood, and labouring to ruine our land, with hope to bring us under the yoke of perpetuall slavery.

Against them is true honour to be gotten, for that we shall no sooner set foot in their land, but that every step we tread will yeeld us new occasion of action, which I wish the gallantrie of our Countrey rather to regard then to folow those soft unprofitable pleasures wherein they now consume their time and patrimonie. And in two or three townes of Spaine is the welth of all Europe gathered together, which are the Magasins of the fruits and profits of the East and West Indies, whereunto I wish our yong able men, who, (against the libertie they are borne unto) terme themselves Serving men, rather to bend their desires and affections, then to attend their double liverie and 40 shillings by the yeere wages, and the reversion of the old Copy-hold, for carying a dish to their masters table. But let me here reprehend my selfe and crave pardon for entring into a matter of such state and consequence, the care whereof is already laid upon a most grave and honorable counsell, who wil in their wisdoms foresee the dangers

that may be threatned agaynst us. And why do I labour to disquiet the securitie of these happy gentlemen, & the trade of those honest serving men, by perswading them to the warres when I see the profession thereof so slenderly esteemed? For though all our hope of peace be frustrate, and our quarels determinable by the sword: though our enemy hath by his owne forces and his pensionaries industry, confined the united Provinces into a narrow rounge, & almost disunited the same: if he be now in a good way to harbor himselfe in the principall havens of France, from whence he may front us at pleasure: yea though we are to hope for nothing but a bloodie warre, nor can trust to any helpe but Armes; yet how far the common sort are from reverencing or regarding any persons of conduction, was too apparant in the returne of this our journey, wherein the base and common souldier hath bene tollerated to speake against the Captaine, and the souldier and Captaine against the Generals, and wherein mechanicall and men of base condicion doe dare to censure the doings of them, of whose acts they be not woorthy to talke.

The ancient grave degree of the Prelacie is upheld, though Martin raile never so much, & the Lawyer is after the old maner worshipped, whosoever inveigh against him. But the ancient English honour is taken from our men of war, & their profession in disgrace, though never so necessary. Either we commit idolatry to Neptune, and will put him alone stil to fight for us as he did the last yeere, or we be enchanted with some divelish opinions, that travell nothing more then to diminish the reputation of them, upon whose shoulders the burden of our defence against the enemy must lie when occasion shall be offred. For whensoever he shall set foote upon our land, it is neither the preaching of the Clergie that can turne him out againe, nor the pleading of any Lawyers that can remoove him out of possession: no, then they will honour them whom now they thinke not on, and then must those men stand betweene them and their perils, who are now thought unworthy of any estimation.

May the burning of one towne (which cost the king then being six times as much as this hath done her majestie, wherein were lost seven times as many men as in any one service of this journey, and taried not the tenth part of our time in the enemies Countrey) be by our elders so

highly reputed and sounded out by the historie of the Realme; and can our voyage be so meanly esteemed, wherein we burned both townes and Countreys without the losse of fortie men in any such attempt?

Did our kings in former times reward some with the greatest titles of honour for overthrowing a number of poore Scots, who, after one battell lost, were never able to reenforce themselves against him; and shall they in this time who have overthrowen our mightie enemy in battell, and taken his roiall Standerd in the field, besieged the marquesse of Saralba 15 dayes together, that should have bene the Generall of the Armie against us, brought away so much of his artillarie (as I have before declared) be unwoorthily esteemed of?

Is it possible that some in some times should receive their reward for looking upon an enemy, and ours in this time not receive so much as thanks for having beaten an enemy at handie strokes?

But it is true that no man shall bee a prophet in his Countrey: and for my owne part I will lay aside my Armes till that profession shal have more reputation, and live with my friends in the countrey, attending either some more fortunate time to use them, or some other good occasion to make me forget them.

But what? shall the blind opinion of this monster, a beast of many heads, (for so hath the generalitie of old bene termed) cause me to neglect the profession from whence I challenge some reputation, or diminish my love to my countrey, which hitherto hath nourished me? No, it was for her sake I first tooke armes, and for her sake I will handle them so long as I shall be able to use them: not regarding how some men in private conventicles do measure mens estimations by their owne humors; nor how every popular person doeth give sentence on every mans actions by the worst accidents. But attending the gracious aspect of our dread Sovereigne, who never yet left vertue unrewarded: and depending upon the justice of her most rare and grave advisors, who by their heedie looking into every mans worth, do give encouragement to the vertuous to exceed others in vertue: and assuring you that there shall never any thing happen more pleasing unto me, then that I may once againe bee a partie in some honorable journey against the Spaniard in his owne countrey, I will cease my complaint: and with them that

deserve beyond me, patiently endure the unadvised censure of our malicious reproovers.

If I have seemed in the beginning hereof troublesome unto you, in the discovering of those impediments, and answering the slanders which by the vulgar malicious and mutinous sort are laid as blemishes upon the journey, and reproches upon the Generals (having indeed proceeded from other heads :) let the necessitie of conserving the reputation of the action in generall, & the honors of our Generals in particular, bee my sufficient excuse : the one having by the vertue of the other made our country more dreaded & renowned, then any act that ever England undertooke before. Or if you have thought my perswasible discourse long in the latter end ; let the affectionate desire of my countreys good be therein answerable for me. And such as it is I pray you accept it, as only recommended to your selfe, and not to be delivered to the publique view of the world, least any man take offence thereat : which some particular men may seeme justly to do, in that having deserved very well, I should not herein give them their due commendations : whereas my purpose in this private discourse hath bene onely to gratifie you with a touch of those principall matters that have passed, wherein I have onely taken notes of those men who either commaunded every service, or were of chiefest marke : if therefore you shall impart the same to one, and he to another, and so it passe through my hands, I know not what constructions would be made thereof to my prejudice ; for that the Hares eares may happily be taken for hornes. Howbeit I hold it very necessary (I must confesse) that there should be some true manifestation made of these things : but be it far from me to be the author thereof, as very unfit to deliver my censure of any matter in publique, & most unwilling to have my weaknesse discovered in private. And so I doe leave you to the happy successe of your accustomed good exercises, earnestly wishing that there may be some better acceptance made of the fruits of your studies, then there hath bene of our hazards in the wars. From London the 30 of August 1589.

The voiage of the right honorable George Erle of Cumberland to the Azores, &c. Written by the excellent Mathematician and Enginier master Edward Wright.

THE right honorable the Erle of Cumberland having at his owne charges prepared his small Fleet of foure Sailes onely, viz. The Victorie one of the Queenes ships royall; the Meg and Margaret small ships, (one of which also he was forced soone after to send home againe, finding her not able to endure the Sea) and a small Caravell, and having assembled together about 400 men (or fewer) of gentlemen, souldiers, and saylers, embarked himself and them, and set saile from the Sound of Plimmouth in Devonshire, the 18 day of June 1589. being accompanied with these captaines and gentlemen which hereafter follow.

Captaine Christopher Lister a man of great resolution, captaine Edward Carelesse, *aliàs* Wright, who in sir Francis Drakes West-Indian voyage to S. Domingo and Carthagená, was captaine of the Hope. Captaine Boswell, M. Mervin, M. Henry Long, M. Partridge, M. Norton, M. William Mounson captaine of the Meg, and his viceadmirall, now sir William Mounson, M. Pigeon captaine of the Caravell.

About 3 dayes after our departure from Plimmouth we met with 3 French ships, whereof one was of Newhaven, another of S. Malos, and so finding them to be Leaguers & lawful Prises, we tooke them and sent two of them for England with all their loding, which was fish for the most part from New-found land, saving that there was part thereof distributed amongst our small Fleet, as we could find Stowage for the same: and in the third, all their men were sent home into France. The same day & the day folowing we met with some other ships, whom (when after some conference had with them, we perceived plainly to bee of Roterodam and Emden, bound for Rochell) we dismissed.

The 28 and 29 dayes we met divers of our English ships, returning from the Portugall voiage which my lord relieved with victuals. The 13 day of July being Sondag in the morning, we espied 11 ships without sight of ye coast of Spaine, in the height of 39 degrees, whom wee presently prepared for, & provided to meet them, having

first set forth captaine Mounson in the Meg, before us, to descry whence they were. The Meg approaching neere, there passed some shot betwixt them, whereby, as also by their Admiral and Viceadmirall putting foorth their flags, we perceived that some fight was likely to follow. Having therefore fitted our selves for them, we made what hast we could towards them with regard alwayes to get the wind of them, and about 10 or 11 of the clocke, we came up to them with the Victory. But after some few shot & some litle fight passed betwixt us, they yeelded themselves, & the masters of them all came aboard us, shewing their several Pasports from the cities of Hamburg and Lubeck, from Breme, Pomerania and Calice.

They had in them certaine bags of Pepper & Syнамom, which they confessed to be the goods of a Jew in Lisbon, which should have bene caried by them into their countrey to his Factor there, and so finding it by their owne confession to be lawful Prise, the same was soone after taken and devided amongst our whole company, the value wherof was esteemed to be about 4500 pounds, at two shillings the pound.

The 17 day the foresaid ships were dismissed, but 7 of their men that were willing to go along with us for sailers, we tooke to helpe us, and so held on our course for the Azores.

The 1 of August being Friday in the morning, we had sight of the Iland of S. Michael, being one of the Eastermost of the Azores toward which we sailed all that day, and at night having put foorth a Spanish flag in our main-top, that so they might the lesse suspect us, we approached neere to the chiefe towne and road of that Iland, where we espied 3 ships riding at anker and some other vessels: all which we determined to take in the darke of the night, and accordingly attempted about 10 or 11 of the clocke, sending our boats well manned to cut their cables and hausers, and let them drive into the sea. Our men comming to them, found y<sup>t</sup> one of those greatest ships was the Falcon of London being there under a Scottish Pilot who bare the name of her as his own. But 3 other smal ships that lay neere under the castle there, our men let loose and towed them away unto us, most of the Spaniards that were in them leaping overboard and swimming to shore with lowd and lamentable outcries, which they of the towne hearing were in an



uprore, and answered with the like crying. The castle discharged some great shot at our boats, but shooting without marke by reason of the darknesse they did us no hurt. The Scots likewise discharged 3 great pieces into the aire to make the Spaniards thinke they were their friends and our enemies, and shortly after the Scottish master, & some other with him, came aboard to my lord doing their dutie, and offring their service, &c. These 3 ships were fraught with wine and Sallet-oile from Sivil.

The same day our Caravel chased a Spanish Caravel to shore at S. Michael, which caried letters thither, by which we learned that the Caraks were departed from Tercera 8 dayes before.

The 7 of August we had sight of a litle ship which wee chased towards Tercera with our pinnasse (the weather being calme) and towards evening we overtooke her, there were in her 30 tunnes of good Madera wine, certaine woollen cloth, silke, taffata, &c. The 14 of August we came to the Iland of Flores, where we determined to take in some fresh water and fresh victuals, such as the Iland did affoord. So we manned our boats with some 120 men and rowed towards the shore; whereto when we approched the inhabitants that were assembled at the landing place, put foorth a flag of truce, whereupon we also did the like.

When we came to them, my Lord gave them to understand by his Portugall interpreter, that he was a friend to their king Don Antonio, and came not any way to injury them, but that he ment onely to have some fresh water and fresh victuals of them, by way of exchange for some provision that he had, as oile, wine, or pepper, to which they presently agreed willingly, & sent some of their company for beeves and sheepe, and we in the meane season marched Southward about a mile to Villa de Santa Cruz, from whence all the inhabitants yong and old were departed, and not any thing of value left. We demanding of them what was the cause hereof, they answered, Feare; as their usuall maner was when any ships came neere their coast.

We found that part of the Iland to be full of great rockie barren hils and mountains, litle inhabited by reason that it is molested with ships of war which might partly appeare by this towne of Santa Cruz (being one of their

chiefe townes) which was all ruinous, and (as it were) but the reliques of the ancient towne which had bene burnt about two yeeres before by certaine English ships of war, as the inhabitants there reported.

At evening as we were in rowing towards the Victory, an huge fish pursued us for the space well nigh of two miles together, distant for the most part from the boats sterne not a speares length, and sometimes so neere that the boat stroke upon him, the tips of whose finnes about the ghils (appearing oft times above the water) were by estimation 4 or 5 yards asunder, and his jawes gaping a yard and an halfe wide, which put us in feare of overturning the pinnasse, but God bee thanked (rowing as hard as we could) we escaped.

When we were about Flores a litle ship called the Drake, brought us word that the Caraks were at Tercera, of which newes we were very glad, & sped us thitherward with all the speed we could: and by the way we came to Fayal road the seven and twentieth day of August, after sunne set, where we espied certaine shippes ryding at anker, to whom we sent in our Skiffe with Captaine Lister and Captaine Monson in her to discover the roaders: and least any daunger should happen to our boate, we sent in likewise the Sawsie Jacke and the small Caravell; but the wind being off the shoare, the shippes were not able to fet it so nigh as the Spaniards ride, which neverthesse the boate did, and clapped a shippe aboard of two hundred and fiftie tunnes, which caried in her fourteene cast peeces, and continued fight alone with her for the space of one houre untill the comming up of other boates to the reskue of her, which were sent from the shippes, and then a fresh boording her againe one boate in the quarter, another in the hause, wee entred her on the one side, and all the Spaniards lept overboord on the other, save Juan de Palma the Captaine of her and two or three more, and thus we became possessors of her. This shippe was mored to the Castle which shot at us all this while: the onely hurt which we received of all this shot was this, that the master of our Caravell had the calfe of his legge shot away. This shippe was laden with Sugar, Ginger, and hides lately come from S. Juan de Puerto Rico; after we had towed her cleare off the castle, we rowed in againe with our boats, and fetched out five small ships more, one laden with hides, another with

Elephants teeth, graines, coco-nuts, and goates skins come from Guinie, another with woad, and two with dogge-fish, which two last we let drive in the sea making none account of them. The other foure we sent for England the 30 of August.

At the taking of these Prizes were consorted with us some other small men of warre, as Maister John Davis, with his shippe, Pinnesse, and Boate, Captaine Markesburie with his ship, whose owner was Sir Walter Ralegh, the Barke of Lime, which was also consorted with us before.

The last of August in the morning we came in sight of Tercera, being about some nine or ten leagues from shoare, where we espied comming towards us, a small boat under saile, which seemed somewhat strange unto us, being so farre from land, and no shippe in sight, to which they might belong: but comming neere, they put us out of doubt, shewing they were English men (eight in number) that had lately beene prisoners in Tercera, and finding opportunitie to escape at that time, with that small boat committed themselves to the sea, under Gods providence, having no other yard for their maine saile, but two pipe staves tyed together by the endes, and no more provision of victuals, then they could bring in their pockets and bosomes. Having taken them all into the Victorie, they gave us certaine intelligence, that the Carackes were departed from thence about a weeke before.

Thus beeing without any further hope of those Caraks, we resolved to returne for Fayall, with intent to surprize the towne, but untill the ninth of September, we had either the winde so contrary, or the weather so calme, that in all that time, we made scarce nine or ten leagues way, lingring up and downe not farre from Pico.

The tenth of September, being Wednesday in the afternoone, wee came againe to Fayal roade. Whereupon immediatly my Lord sent Captaine Lister, with one of Graciosa (whom Captaine Munson had before taken) and some others, towards Fayal, whom certaine of the Inhabitants met in a boat, and came with Captaine Lister to my Lord, to whom hee gave this choice: either to suffer him quietly to enter into the platforme there without resistance, where he and his companie would remaine a space without offering any injurie to them, that they (the Inhabitants) might come unto him and compound for the

ransome of the Towne; or else to stand to the hazard of warre.

With these words they returned to the towne: but the keepers of the platforme answered, that it was against their oath and allegiance to king Philip to give over without fight. Whereupon my Lord commanded the boates of every ship, to be presently manned, and soone after landed his men on the sandie shoare, under the side of an hill, about halfe a league to the Northwards from the platforme: upon the toppe of which hill certaine horsemen and footmen shewed themselves, and other two companies also appeared, with ensignes displayed, the one before the towne upon the shore by the sea side, which marched towards our landing place, as though they would encounter us; the other in a valley to the Southwards of the platforme, as if they would have come to helpe the Townesmen: during which time, they in the platforme also played upon us with great Ordinance. Notwithstanding my L. (having set his men in order) marched along the sea shore, upon the sands, betwixt the sea & the towne towards the platforme for the space of a mile or more, & then the shore growing rockie, & permitting no further progresse without much difficultie, he entred into the towne & passed through the street without resistance, unto the platforme; for those companies before mentioned at my Lo. approching, were soone dispersed, and suddenly vanished.

Likewise they of the platforme, being all fled at my Lordes comming thither, left him and his company to scale the walles, to enter and take possession without resistance.

In the meane time our shippes ceased not to batter the foresaid Towne and Platforme with great shotte, till such time as we saw the Red-Crosse of England flourishing upon the Forefront thereof.

This Fayal is the principall towne in all that island, & is situate directly over against the high and mighty mountaine Pico, lying towards the West Northwest from that mountaine, being devided therefrom by a narrow Sea, which at that place is by estimation about some two or three leagues in bredth betweene the Isles of Fayal and Pico.

The towne conteyned some three hundred houtholds, their houses were faire and strongly builded of lime and

stone, and double covered with hollow tyles much like our rooſe-tyles, but that they are leſſe at the one end then at the other.

Every houſe almoſt had a ciſterne or well in a garden on the backe ſide: in which gardens grew vines (with ripe cluſters of grapes) making pleaſant ſhadowes, and Tabacco nowe commonly knowne and uſed in England, wherewith their women there dye their faces reddiſh, to make them ſeeme freſh and young: Pepper Indian and common; figge-trees bearing both white and red figges: Peach trees not growing very tall: Orengeſ, Limons, Quinces, Potato-roots, &c. Sweete wood (Cedar I thinke) is there very common, even for building and firing.

My Lord having poſſeſſed himſelfe of the towne and platforme, and being carefull of the preſervation of the towne, gave commandement, that no mariner or ſouldier ſhould enter into any houſe, to make any ſpoyle thereof. But eſpecially he was carefull that the Churches and houſes of religion there ſhould be kept inviolate, which was accordingly performed, through his appointment of guarders and keepers for thoſe places: but the reſt of the towne eyther for want of the former inhibition, or for deſire of ſpoyle & prey, was rifled, & ransacked by the ſouldiers & mariners, who ſcarcely left any houſe unſearched, out of which they tooke ſuch things as liked them, as cheſtes of ſweete wood, chaires, cloth, coverlets, hangings, bedding, apparell: and further ranged into the countrey, where ſome of them alſo were hurt by the inhabitants. The Friery there conteyning and maintayning thirtie Franciſcan Friers (among whom we could not finde any one able to ſpeake true Latine) was builded by a Fryer of Angra in Tercera of the ſame order, about the yeare of our Lord one thouſand five hundred and ſixe. The tables in the hall had ſeates for the one ſide onely, and were alwayes covered, as readie at all times for dinner or ſupper.

From Wednesday in the afternoone, at which time we entred the towne, til Saturday night, we continued there, untill the Inhabitants had agreed and payed for the ransome of the towne, two thouſand duckats, moſt part whereof was Church-plate.

We found in the platforme eight and fiftie yron peeces of Ordinance, whereof three and twentie (as I remember) or more were readie mounted upon their carriages,

betweene Barricadoes, upon a platforme towards the sea-side, all which Ordinance wee tooke, and set the platforme on fire, and so departed: My Lord having invited to dinner in the Victorie, on the Sunday following, so many of the Inhabitants as would willingly come (save onely Diego Gomes the Governour, who came but once onely to parle about the ransome) onely foure came and were well entertained, and solemnely dismissed with sound of drumme and trumpets, and a peale of Ordinance: to whom my Lord delivered his letter subscribed with his owne hand, importing a request to all other Englishmen to abstaine from any further molesting them, save onely for fresh water, and victuals necessary for their intended voyage. During our abode here (viz. the 11 of September) two men came out of Pico which had beene prisoners there: Also at Fayal we set at libertie a prisoner translated from S. Jago who was cousin to a servant of Don Anthonio king of Portugall in England: These prisoners we deteyned with us.

On Munday we sent our boates a shore for fresh water, which (by reason of the raine that fell the former night) came plentifully running downe the hilles, and would otherwise have beene hard to be gotten there. On Tuesday likewise having not yet sufficiently served our turnes, we sent againe for fresh water, which was then not so easie to be gotten as the day before, by reason of a great winde: which in the afternoone increased also in such sort, that we thought it not safe to ride so neere the land; whereupon we weyed anker and so departed Northwest and by west, amongst the coast of Fayal Island. Some of the Inhabitants comming aboard to us this day, tolde us that alwayes about that time of the yeere such windes West Southwest blew on that coast.

This day, as we sayled neere Saint Georges Island, a huge fish lying still a litle under water, or rather even therewith, appeared hard by a head of us, the sea breaking upon his backe, which was blacke coloured, in such sort as deeming at the first it had beene a rocke, and the ship stemming directly with him, we were put in a sudden feare for the time: till soone after we saw him move out of the way.

The 16 of September in the night it lightened much, whereupon there followed great winds and raine, which continued the 17 18 19 20 and 21 of the same. The 23



of September we came againe into Faial road to weigh an anker which (for haste and feare of foule weather) wee had left there before, where we went on shore to see the towne, the people (as we thought) having now settled themselves there againe, but notwithstanding many of them through too much distrustfulnesse, departed and prepared to depart with their packets at the first sight of us : untill such time as they were assured by my Lord, that our comming was not any way to injury them, but especially to have fresh water, and some other things needefull for us, contenting them for the same.

So then we viewed the Towne quietly, and bought such things as we desired for our money as if we had bene in England. And they helped to fill us in fresh water, receiving for their paines such satisfaction as contented them.

The 25 day we were forced againe to depart from thence, before we had sufficiently watered, by reason of a great tempest that suddenly arose in the night, in so much, that my Lord himselfe soone after midnight rayased our men out of their Cabines to wey anker, himselfe also together with them haling at the Capsten, and after chearing them up with wine.

The next day we sent our Caravell and the Sawsie-Jacke to the road of Saint Michael, to see what they could espie : we following after them upon the 27 day, plying to and fro, came within sight of S. Michael, but by contrary windes the 28 29 and 30 dayes wee were driven to leewarde, and could not get neere the Island.

The first of October wee sayled alongst Tercera, and even against Brasill (a promontorie neere to Angra the strongest Towne in that Island) wee espied some boates comming to the Towne, and made out towardses them : but being neere to the lande they ranne to shoare and escaped us.

In the afternoone we came neere to Graciosa, whereupon my Lord forthwith sent Captain Lister to the Ilanders, to let them understand that his desire was onely to have water and wine of them, and some fresh victuals, and not any further to trouble them. They answered they could give no resolute answer to this demaund, untill the Governors of the Iland had consulted therupon, and therefore desired him to send againe to them the next day.

Upon the second day of October early in the morning, we sent forth our long boat and Pinnesse, with emptie Caske, and about some fiftie or sixty men together with the Margaret, and Captaine Davis his shippe: for we now wanted all the rest of our consortes. But when our men would have landed, the Ilanders shot at them, and would not suffer them. And troupes of men appeared upon land, with ensignes displayed to resist us: So our boates rowed alongst the shoare, to finde some place where they might land, not with too much disadvantage: our shippes and they still shooting at the Ilanders: but no place could be founde where they might land without great perill of loosing many of their lives, and so were constrayned to retire without receiving any answeare, as was promised the day before. We had three men hurt in this conflict, whilst our boates were together in consulting what was best to be done: two of them were stroken with a great shot (which the Ilanders drew from place to place with Oxen) wherewith the one lost his hand, and the other his life within two or three dayes after: the third was shot into his necke with a small shot, without any great hurt.

With these newes our company returned backe againe at night, whereupon preparation was made to goe to them againe the next day: but the day was farre spent before we could come neere them with our ship: neither could we finde any good ground to anker in, where we might lye to batter the Towne, and further we could finde no landing place, without great danger to loose many men: which might turne not only to the overthrow of our voiage, but also put the Queenes ship in great perill for want of men to bring her home. Therefore my Lord thought it best to write to them to this effect: That he could not a litle marvell at their inhumanitie and crueltie which they had shewed towards his men, seeing they were sent by him unto them in peaceable manner to receive their answeare which they had promised to give the day before: and that were it not for Don Antonio their lawfull king his sake, he could not put up so great injury at their hands, without just revengement upon them: notwithstanding for Don Antonio his sake, whose friend he was, he was yet content to send to them once againe for their answeare: At night Captaine Lister returned with this answeare from them. That their Gunner shot off one

of their peeces, which was charged with poudre onely, and was stopped; which our men thinking it had bin shot at them, shot againe, and so beganne the fight: and that the next morning they would send my Lord a resolute answer to his demaunde, for as yet they could not knowe their Governours minde herein. The next morning there came unto us a boate from the shoare with a flagge of truce, wherein were three of the chiefe men of the Island, who agreed with my Lorde that hee should have of them sixtie buttes of wine, and fresh victuals to refresh himselfe and his companie withall: but as for fresh water, they could not satisfie our neede therein, having themselves little or none, saving such as they saved in vessels or cisternes when it rayned, and that they had rather give us two tunnes of wine then one of water: but they requested that our souldiers might not come on shoare, for they themselves would bring all they had promised to the water-side, which request was graunted, we keeping one of them aboard with us untill their promise was performed, and the other we sent to shoare with our emptie Caske, and some of our men to helpe to fill, and bring them away with such other provision as was promised: so the Margaret, Captaine Davis his shippe, and another of Weymouth stayed ryding at anker before the Towne, to take in our provision. This shippe of Weymouth came to us the day before, and had taken a rich Prize (as it was reported) worth sixteene thousand pound, which brought us newes that the West-Indian Fleete was not yet come, but would come very shortly. But we with the Victorie put off to sea, and upon Saturday the fourth of October, we tooke a French shippe of Saint Malo (a citie of the unholy league) loden with fish from Newfoundland: which had beene in so great a tempest, that she was constraind to cut her mayne mast overboord for her safetie, and was now comming to Graciosa, to repaire her selfe. But so hardly it befell her, that she did not onely not repaire her former losses, but lost all that remayned unto us. The chiefe of her men we tooke into our ship, and sent some of our men, mariners, and souldiers into her to bring her into England.

Upon the Sunday following at night, all our promised provision was brought unto us from Graciosa: and we friendly dismissed the Ilanders with a peale of Ordinance.

Upon Munday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, we plyed to and fro about those Islandes, being very rough weather. And upon Thursday at night, being driven some three or foure leagues from Tercera, we saw fifteene sailē of the West-Indian Fleete comming into the Haven at Angra in Tercera. But the winde was such, that for the space of foure dayes after, though wee lay as close by the winde as was possible, yet we could not come neere them. In this time we lost our late French Prize, not being able to lie so neere the winde as we, and heard no more of her till we came to England where shee safely arrived. Upon Munday we came very neere the Havens mouth, being minded to have runne in amongst them, and to have fetched out some of them if it had beene possible: But in the end this enterprise was deemed too daungerous, considering the strength of the place where they rode, being haled and towed in neerer the towne, at the first sight of our approching, and lying under the protection of the Castle of Brasill, on the one side (having in it five and twentie peeces of Ordinance) and a fort on the other side wherein were 13 or 14 great brasse pieces. Besides, when we came neere land the winde proved too scant for us to attempt any such enterprise.

Upon Tuesday the fourteenth of October we sent our boate to the roade to sound the depth, to see if there were any anking place for us, where we might lie without shot of the Castle and Fort, and within shot of some of those shippes, that we might either make them come out to us, or sinke them where they lay. Our boate returned having found out such a place as we desired, but the winde would not suffer us to come neere it, and againe if we could have ankored there, it was thought likely that they would rather runne themselves a ground to save their lives and liberties, and some of their goods, then come foorth to loose their liberties and goods to us their enemies. So we shot at them to see if we could reach them, but it fell farre short. And thus we departed, thinking it not probable that they would come foorth so long as we watched for them before the havens mouth, or within sight of them. For the space of five dayes after we put off to sea, and lay without sight of them, and sent a pinnesse to lie out of sight close by the shore, to bring us word if they should come foorth. After a while the Pinnesse returned and tolde us that those ships

in the Haven had taken downe their sayles, and let downe their toppe mastes: so that wee supposed they would never come foorth, till they perceived us to bee quite gone.

Wherefore upon the 20 of October, hearing that there were certaine Scottish ships at Saint Michael, we sayled thither, and found there one Scottish roader, and two or three more at Villa Franca, the next road a league or two from the towne of S. Michael, to the Eastwards: of whom we had for our reliefe some small quantitie of wine (viz. some five or sixe buttes of them all) and some fresh water, but nothing sufficient to serve our turne.

Upon Tuesday the one and twentieth of October, we sent our long boate to shore for fresh water at a brooke a little to the Westwards from Villa Franca.

But the Inhabitants espying us came downe with two Ensignes displayed, and about some hundred and fiftie men armed, to withstand our landing. So our men having spent all their powder upon them in attempting to land, and not being able to prevaile at so great oddes, returned frustrate.

From hence we departed towardses Saint Maries Island, minding to water there, and then to goe for the coast of Spaine. For we had intelligence that it was a place of no great force, and that we might water there very well: therefore upon Friday following, my Lord sent Captaine Lister, and Captaine Amias Preston now Sir Amias Preston (who not long before came to us out of his owne shippe, and she loosing us in the night, hee was forced to tarry still with us) with our long boate and Pinnesse, and some sixtie or seventie shotte in them, with a friendly letter to the Ilanders, that they would grant us leave to water, and we would no further trouble them.

So we departed from the Victorie for the Iland, about nine of the clocke in the forenoone, and rowed freshly untill about 3 a clocke afternoone. At which time our men being something weary with rowing, and being within a league or two of the shore, and 4 or 5 leagues from the Victorie, they espied (to their refreshing) two ships ryding at anker hard under the towne, whereupon having shifted some 6 or 7 of our men into Captaine Davis his boate, being too much pestered in our owne, and retayning with us some 20 shot in the pinnesse,

we made way towardes them with all the speede we could.

By the way as we rowed we saw boates passing betwixt the roaders and the shore, and men in their shirtes swimming and wading to shoare, who as we perceived afterwardes, were labouring to set those shippes fast on ground, and the Inhabitants as busily preparing themselves for the defence of those roaders, their Iland, and themselves. When we came neere them, Captaine Lister commaunded the Trumpets to be sounded, but prohibited any shot to be discharged at them, untill they had direction from him: But some of the companie, either not well perceiving or regarding what he sayd, immediatly upon the sound of the Trumpets discharged their pieces at the Islanders, which for the most part lay in trenches and fortified places unseene, to their owne best advantage: who immediatly shot likewise at us, both with small and great shot, without danger to themselves: Notwithstanding Captaine Lister earnestly hastened forward the Saylers that rowed, who beganne to shrink at that shot, flying so fast about their eares, and himselfe first entring one of the shippes that lay a litle further from shoare then the other, we spedily followed after him into her, still plying them with our shot. And having cut in sunder her Cables and Hausers, towed her away with our Pinnesse. In the meane time Captaine Davis his boate overtooke us and entred into the other shippe, which also (as the former) was forsaken by all her men: but they were constrayned to leave her & to come againe into their boate (whilst shot and stones from shoare flew fast amongst them) finding her to sticke so fast a ground, that they could not stire her: which the Townesmen also perceiving, and seeing that they were but fewe in number, and us (busied about the other ship) not coming to ayde them, were preparing to have come and taken them. But they returned unto us, and so together we came away towards the Victory, towing after us the Prize that we had now taken, which was lately come from Brasill, loden with Sugar.

In this fight we had two men slaine and 16 wounded: and as for them, it is like they had litle hurt, lying for the most part behind stone walles, which were builded one above another hard by the sea side, upon the end of the hill whereupon the Towne stoode betwixt two



valleyes. Upon the toppe of the hill lay their great Ordinance (such as they had) wherewith they shot leaden bullets, whereof one pierced through our Prizes side, and lay still in the shippe without doing any more harme.

The next day we went againe for water to the same Iland, but not knowing before the inconvenience and disadvantage of the place where we attempted to land, we returned frustrate.

The same night the 25 of October we departed for S. Georges Iland for fresh water, whither we came on Munday following October 27, and having espied where a spout of water came running downe: the pinnesse and long boate were presently manned and sent under the conduct of Captaine Preston, and Captaine Munson, by whom my Lord sent a letter to the Ilanders as before, to grant us leave to water onely, and we would no further trouble them: notwithstanding our men comming on shoare found some of the poore Ilanders, which for feare of us hid themselves amongst the rockes.

And on Wednesday following our boats returned with fresh water, whereof they brought only sixe tunnes for the Victorie, alleaging they could get no more, thinking (as it was supposed) that my Lord having no more provision of water and wine, but onely 12 tunnes, would not goe for the coast of Spaine, but straight for the coast of England, as many of our men greatly desired: notwithstanding my Lord was unwilling so to doe, and was minded the next day to have taken in more water: but through roughnesse of the seas and winde, and unwillingnesse of his men it was not done. Yet his Hon. purposed not to returne with so much provision unspent, and his voyage (as he thought) not yet performed in such sort as mought give some reasonable contentment or satisfaction to himselfe and others.

Therefore because no more water could now conveniently be gotten, and being uncertaine when it could be gotten, and the time of our staying aboard also uncertaine, the matter being referred to the choyse of the whole companie, whither they would tarrie longer, till wee might be more sufficiently provided of fresh water, or goe by the coast of Spaine for England, with halfe so much allowance of drinke as before, they willingly agreed that every mease should bee allowed at one meale but halfe so much drinke as they were accustomed (except them

that were sicke or wounded) and so to goe for England, taking the coast of Spaine in our way, to see if we could that way make up our voyage.

Upon Saturday Octob. 31 we sent the Margaret (because she leaked much) directly for England, together with the Prize of Brasile which we tooke at S. Marie, and in them some of our hurt and wounded men or otherwise sicke were sent home as they desired, for England: but Captaine Monson was taken out of the Megge into the Victorie.

So we held on our course for the coast of Spaine with a faire winde and a large which before we seldome had. And upon Twesday following being the 4 of Novemb. we espied a saile right before us, which we chased till about three a clocke in the afternoone, at which time we overtaking her, she stroke sayle, and being demaunded who was her owner and from whence she was, they answered, a Portugall, and from Pernanbucke in Brasile. She was a ship of som 110 tuns burden, freighted with 410 chestes of Sugar, and 50 Kintals of Brasill-wood, every Kintall contayning one hundred pound weight: we tooke her in latitude nine and twentie degrees, about two hundred leagues from Lisbone westwards: Captaine Preston was presently sent unto her, who brought the principall of her men aboard the Victorie, and certaine of our men, mariners and souldiers were sent aboard her. The Portugals of this Prize told us that they saw another ship before them that day about noone. Having therefore dispatched all things about the Prize aforesaid and left our long boat with Captaine Davis, taking his lesser boat with us, we made way after this other ship with all the sayles we could beare, holding on our course due East, and giving order to Captaine Davis his ship and the Prize that they should follow us due East, and that if they had sight of us the morning following they should follow us still: if not, they should goe for England.

The next morning we espied not the sayle which we chased, and Captaine Davis his ship and the Prize were behinde us out of sight: but the next Thursday the sixt of November (being in latitude 38 degrees 30 minutes, and about sixtie leagues from Lisbone westwards) early in the morning Captaine Preston descried a sayle some two or three leagues a head of us, after which we presently hastened our chase, and overtooke her about eight

or nine of the clocke before noone. She came lately from Saint Michaels roade, having beene before at Brasill loden with Sugar and Brasile. Having sent our boat to them to bring some of the chiefe of their men aboard the Victorie, in the meane time whilst they were in comming to us one out of the maine toppe espied another saile a head some three or foure leagues from us. So immediately upon the returne of our boate, having sent her backe againe with some of our men aboard the prize, we pursued speedily this new chase, with all the sayles we could packe on, and about two a clocke in the afternoone overtooke her: she had made provision to fight with us, having hanged the sides of the ship so thicke with hides (wherewith especially she was loden) that musket shot could not have pearced them: but yer we had discharged two great pieces of our Ordinance at her, she stroke sayle, and approching neerer, we asking of whence they were, they answered from the West-Indies, from Mexico, and Saint John de Lowe (truely called Ulhua.) This ship was of some three or foure hundred tunnes, and had in her seven hundred hides worth tenne shillings a peece: sixe chests of Cochinell, every chest houlding one hundred pound weight, and every pound worth sixe and twentie shillings and eight pence, and certaine chests of Sugar and China dishes, with some plate and silver.

The Captaine of her was an Italian, and by his behaviour seemed to be a grave, wise, and civill man: he had put an adventure in this shippe five and twentie thousand Duckats. Wee tooke him with certaine other of her chieftest men (which were Spaniards) into the Victorie: and Captaine Lister with so manie other of the chieftest of our Mariners, souldiers, and saylers as were thought sufficient, to the number of 20. or thereabouts, were sent into her. In the meane time (we staying) our other prizes which followed after, came up to us. And nowe wee had our hands full and with joy shaped our course for England, for so it was thought meetest, having now so many Portugals, Spaniards and Frenchmen amongst us, that if we should have taken any more prizes afterwards, wee had not bene well able to have manned them without endangering our selves. So about 6. of the clocke in the afternoone (when our other prize had overtaken us) wee set saile for England. But our prizes not being able to beare us company without sparing

them many of our sailes, which caused our ship to rowle and wallow, in such sort that it was not onely very troublesome to us, but, as it was thought, would also have put the maine Maste in danger of falling overboard: having acquainted them with these inconveniences, we gave them direction to keepe their courses together, folowing us, and so to come to Portsmouth. We tooke this last prize in the latitude of 39. degrees, and about 46. leagues to the Westwards from The Rocke.

She was one of those 16. ships which we saw going into the haven at Angra in Terçera, October 8. Some of the men that we tooke out of her tolde us, that whilst wee were plying up and downe before that haven, as before was shewed, expecting the comming foorth of those shippes, three of the greatest and best of them, at the appointment of the Governour of Terçera, were unladen of their treasure and marchandize. And in every of them were put three hundred Souldiers, which were appointed to have come to lay the Victory aboard in the night, and take her: but when this should have bene done the Victory was gone out of their sight.

Now we went meerily before the winde with all the sailes we could beare, insomuch that in the space of 24. houres, we sailed neere 47. leagues, that is seven-score English miles, betwixt Friday at noone and Saturday at noone (notwithstanding the shippe was very foule, and much growne with long being at Sea) which caused some of our company to make accompt they would see what running at Tilt there should bee at Whitehall upon the Queenes day. Others were imagining what a Christmas they would keepe in England with their shares of the prizes we had taken. But so it befell, that we kept a colde Christmas with the Bishop and his clearks (rockes that lye to the Westwards from Syilly, and the Western parts of England :) For soone after the wind scanting came about to the Eastwards (the worst part of the heavens for us, from which the winde could blow) in such sort, that we could not fetch any part of England. And hereupon also our allowance of drinke, which was scant ynough before, was yet more more scanted, because of the scarcitie thereof in the shippe. So that now a man was allowed but halfe a pinte at a meale, and that many times colde water, and scarce sweete. Notwithstanding this was an happie estate in comparison of that which

followed: For from halfe a pinte we came to a quarter, and that lasted not long neither, so that by reason of this great scarcitie of drinke, and contrarietie of winde, we thought to put into Ireland, there to relieve our wants. But when wee came neere thither, lying at hull all night (tarrying for the daylight of the next morning, whereby we might the safelyer bring our ship into some convenient harbour there) we were driven so farre to lee-ward, that we could fetch no part of Ireland, so as with heavie hearts and sad cheare, wee were constrained to returne backe againe, and expect till it should please God to send us a faire winde either for England or Ireland. In the meane time we were allowed every man three or foure spoones full of vineger to drinke at a meale: for other drinke we had none, saving onely at two or three meales, when we had in stead hereof as much wine, which was wringed out of Wine-lees that remained. With this hard fare (for by reason of our great want of drinke, wee durst eate but very litle) wee continued for the space of a fourtnight or thereabouts: Saving that now and then wee feasted for it in the meane time: And that was when there fell any haile or raine: the haile-stones wee gathered up and did eate them more pleasantly then if they had bene the sweetest Comfits in the world; The raine-drops were so carefully saved, that so neere as wee coulde, not one was lost in all our shippe. Some hanged up sheetes tied with cordes by the foure corners, and a weight in the midst that the water might runne downe thither, and so be received into some vessell set or hanged underneath: Some that wanted sheetes, hanged up nakins, and cloutes, and watched them till they were thorow wet, then wringing and sucking out the water. And that water which fell downe and washed away the filth and soyling of the shippe, trod under foote, as bad as running downe the kennell many times when it raineth, was not lost I warrant you, but watched and attended carefully (yea sometimes with strife and contention) at every scupper-hole, and other place where it ranne downe, with dishes, pots, cannes, and Jarres, whereof some drunke hearty draughts even as it was, mud and all, without tarrying to clense or settle it: Others clensed it first, but not often, for it was so thicke and went so slowly thorow, that they might ill endure to tary so long, and were loth to loose too much of such precious stufte: some licked with their tongues:

(like dogges) the boards under feete, the sides, railes, and Masts of the shippe : others that were more ingenious, fastened girdles or ropes about the Mastes, dawbing tallow betwixt them and the Maste (that the raine might not runne downe betweene) in such sort, that those ropes or girdles hanging lower on the one side then on the other, a spout of leather was fastened to the lowest part of them, that all the raine drops that came running downe the Maste, might meete together at that place, and there be received.

Hee that got a canne of water by these meanes was spoken of, sued to, and envied as a rich man. *Quàm pulchrum digito monstrari & dicier hic est?* Some of the poore Spaniards that we had taken (who notwithstanding had the same allowance that our owne men had) would come and crave of us, for the love of God, but so much water as they could holde in the hollow of their hand : and they had it, notwithstanding our great extremitie, to teache them some humanitie in stead of their accustomed barbaritie, both to us and other nations heretofore. They put also bullets of lead into their mouthes to slake their thirst.

Now in every corner of the shippe were heard the lamentable cries of sicke and wounded men sounding woefully in our eares, crying out and pitifully complaining for want of drinke, being ready to die, yea many dying for lacke thereof, so as by reason of this great extremitie we lost many more men, then wee had done all the voyage before : having before this time bene so well and sufficiently provided for, that we lived in maner as well and healthfully, and died as few as if wee had bene in England, whereas now lightly every day some were cast overboard.

But the second day of December 1589. was a festivall day with us, for then it rained a good pace, and wee saved some pretie store of raine water (though wee were well wet for it, and that at midnight) and filled our skins full besides : notwithstanding it were muddie and bitter with washing the shippe, but (with some sugar which we had to sweeten it withall) it went merrily downe, yet remembred we and wished for with all our hearts, many a Conduit, pumpe, spring, & streame of cleare sweete running water in England : And how miserable wee had accompted some poore soules whom we had seene



driven for thirst to drinke thereof, and how happy we would now have thought ourselves if we might have had our fills of the same: yet should wee have fared the better with this our poore feasting, if we might have had our meate and drinke (such and so much as it was) stand quietly before us: but beside all the former extremities, wee were so tossed and turmoiled with such horrible stormie and tempestuous weather, that every man had best holde fast his Canne, cup, and dish in his hands, yea and himselfe too, many times, by the ropes, railes, or sides of the ship or else he should soone finde all under feete.

Herewith our maine saile was torne from the yarde and blowne overboord quite away into the sea without recovery, and our other sailes so rent and torne (from side to side some of them) that hardly any of them escaped hole. The raging waves and foming surges of the sea came rowling like mountaines one after another, and over-raked the waste of the shippe like a mightie river running over it, whereas in faire weather it was neere 20. foote above the water, that nowe wee might cry out with the princely Prophet Psalme 107. vers. 26. They mount up to heaven, and descend to the deepe, so that their soule melteth away for trouble: they reele too and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and all their cunning is gone. With this extremitie of foule weather the ship was so tossed and shaken, that by the craking noise it made, and by the leaking which was now much more then ordinary, wee were in great feare it would have shaken in sunder, so that now also we had just cause to pray a litle otherwise then the Poet, though marring the verse, yet mending the meaning.

*Deus maris & Coeli, quid enim nisi vota supersunt,*

*Solvere quassatae parcito membra ratis.*

Notwithstanding it pleased God of his great goodnesse to deliver us out of this danger. Then forthwith a new maine saile was made and fastened to the yard, and the rest repaired as time and place would suffer: which we had no sooner done, but yet againe wee were troubled with as great extremitie as before, so that againe we were like to have lost our new maine saile, had not Master William Antony the Master of the ship himselfe (when none else would or durst) ventured with danger of drowning by creeping along upon the maine yarde (which was

let downe close to the railes) to gather it up out of the sea, and to fasten it thereto, being in the meane while oft-times ducked over head and eares into the sea.

These stormes were so terrible, that there were some in our company, which confessed they had gone to seas for the space of 20. yeeres, and had never seene the like, and vowed that if ever they returned safe home, they would never come to Sea againe.

The last of November at night we met with an English ship, out of which (because it was too late that night) it was agreed that we should have had the next morning two or three Tunnes of wine, which, as they said, was al the provision of drink they had, save only a But or two, which they must needs reserve for their owne use: but after that, we heard of them no more, till they were set on ground upon the coast of Ireland, where it appeared that they might have spared us much more then they pretended they could, so as they might wel have relieved our great necessities, and have had sufficient for themselves besides, to bring them into England.

The first of December at night we spake with another English ship, and had some beere out of her, but not sufficient to carry us into England, so that wee were constrained to put into Ireland, the winde so serving.

The next day we came to an anker, not far from the S. Kelmes under the land & winde, where we were somewhat more quiet, but (that being no safe harbour to ride in) the next morning wee went about to weigh anker, but having some of our men hurt at the Capsten, wee were faine to give over and leave it behinde, holding on our course to Ventrie haven, where wee safely arrived the same day, that place being a very safe and convenient harbor for us, that now wee might sing as we had just cause, They that goe downe to the Sea, &c.

So soone as we had ankered here my Lord went foorth-with to shoare, and brought presently fresh water and fresh victuals, as Muttons, pigges, hennes, &c. to refresh his company withall. Notwithstanding himselfe had lately bene very weake, and tasted of the same extremitie that his Company did: For in the time of our former want, having a little fresh water left him remaining in a pot, in the night it was broken, and the water drunke and dried up. Soone after the sicke and wounded men were carried to the next principall Towne, called Dingena-

cush, being about three miles distant from the foresaide haven, where our shippe roade, to the Eastwards, that there they might be the better refreshed, and had the Chirurgians dayly to attend upon them. Here we wel refreshed our selves whilst the Irish harpe sounded sweetely in our eares, and here we, who for the former extremities were in maner halfe dead, had our lives (as it were) restored unto us againe.

This Dingenacush is the chiefe Towne in al that part of Ireland, it consisteth but of one maine streete, from whence some smaller doe proceede on either side. It hath had gates (as it seemeth) in times past at either ende to open and shut as a Towne of warre, and a Castle also. The houses are very strongly built with thicke stone walles, and narrow windowes like unto Castles: for as they confessed, in time of trouble, by reason of the wilde Irish or otherwise, they used their houses for their defence as Castles. The castle and all the houses in the Towne, save foure, were won, burnt, and ruinated by the Erle of Desmond. These foure houses fortified themselves against him, and withstood him and all his power perforce, so as he could not winne them.

There remaineth yet a thicke stone wall that passeth overthwart the midst of the streete which was a part of their fortification. Notwithstanding whilst they thus defended themselves, as some of them yet alive confessed, they were driven to as great extremities as the Jewes, besieged by Titus the Romane Emperour, insomuch that they were constrained to eat dead mens carcases for hunger. The Towne is nowe againe somewhat repaired, but in effect there remaine but the ruines of the former Towne. Commonly they have no chimneis in their houses, excepting them of the better sort, so that the smoake was very troublesom to us, while we continued there. Their fewell is turfes, which they have very good, and whinnes or furies. There groweth little wood thereabouts, which maketh building chargeable there: as also want of lime (as they reported) which they are faine to fetch from farre, when they have neede thereof. But of stones there is store ynough, so that with them they commonly make their hedges to part ech mans ground from other; and the ground seemeth to be nothing else within but rockes and stones: Yet it is very fruitfull and plentifull of grasse, and graine, as may appeare by the

abundance of kine and cattel there: insomuch that we had good muttuns (though somewhat lesse then ours in England) for two shillings or five groates a picce, good pigges and hennes for 3. pence a picce.

The greatest want is industrious, painefull, and husbandly inhabitants to till and trimme the ground: for the common sort, if they can provide sufficient to serve from hand to mouth, take no further care.

Of money (as it seemeth) there is very small store amongst them, which perhaps was the cause that made them double and triple the prizes of many things we bought of them, more then they were before our coming thither.

Good land was here to be had for foure pence the Acre yeerely rent. There are Mines of Alome, Tinne, brasse, and yron. Stones wee sawe there as cleare as Christall, naturally squared like Diamonds.

That part of the Countrey is all ful of great mountaines and hills, from whence came running downe the pleasant streames of swete fresh running water. The naturall hardnesse of that Nation appeareth in this, that their small children runne usually in the midst of Winter up and downe the streetes bare-foote and bare-legged, with no other apparell (many times) save onely a mantell to cover their nakednesse.

The chiefe Officer of their Towne they call their Soveraigne, who hath the same office and authoritie among them that our Maiors have with us in England, and hath his Sergeants to attend upon him, and beare the Mace before him as our Maiors.

We were first intertained at the Soveraignes house, which was one of those 4. that withstood the Erle of Desmond in his rebellion. They have the same forme of Common prayer word for word in Latin, that we have here in England. Upon the Sunday the Soveraigne cometh into the Church with the Sergeant before him, and the Sheriffe and others of the Towne accompany him, and there they kneele downe every man by himselfe privately to make his prayers. After this they rise and go out of the Church againe to drinke, which being done, they returne againe into the Church, and then the Minister beginneth prayers.

Their maner of baptizing differeth something from ours: part of the service belonging thereto is repeated

in Latin, and part in Irish. The Minister taketh the child in his hands, and first dippeth it backwards, and then forwards, over head and eares into the cold water in the midst of Winter, whereby also may appeare their naturall hardnesse, (as before was specified.) They had neither Bell, drum, nor trumpet, to call the Parishioners together, but they expect till their Sovereigne come, and then they that have any devotion follow him.

They make their bread all in cakes, and, for the tenth part, the bakers bake for all the towne.

We had of them some 10. or 11. Tunnes of beere for the Victory, but it proved like a present purgation to them that tooke it, so that we chose rather to drinke water then it.

The 20. of December we loosed from hence, having well provided our selves of fresh water, and other things necessary, being accompanied with sir Edw. Dennie, his Lady, and two yong sonnes.

This day in the morning my Lord going ashoare to dispatch away speedily some fresh water that remained for the Victory, the winde being very faire for us, brought us newes that there were 60. Spanish prizes taken and brought to England. For two or three dayes wee had a faire winde, but afterwards it scanted so, that (as I said before) we were faine to keepe a cold Christmas with The Bishop and his clearkes.

After this we met with an English ship, that brought us joyful newes of 91. Spanish prizes that were come to England: and sorrowfull newes withall, that the last and best prize we tooke, had suffered shipwracke at a place upon the coast of Cornwall which the Cornish men cal Als Efferne, that is, Hel-cliffe, and that Captaine Lister and all the men in the ship were drowned, save 5. or 6. the one halfe English, the other Spanish that saved themselves with swimming: but notwithstanding much of the goods were saved, and reserved for us, by sir Francis Godolphin, and the worshipful gentlemen of the Countrey there. My Lord was very sorry for Captaine Listers death, wishing that he had lost his voyage to have saved his life.

The 29. of December we met with another shippe, that tolde us the same newes, and that sir Martin Frobisher, & Captaine Reymond had taken the Admirall and vice-Admirall of the Fleet that we espied going to Terçera

haven. But the Admiral was sunke with much leaking, neere to the Idy Stone, a rocke that lieth over against Plimouth sound, and the men were saved.

This ship also certified us that Captaine Prestons ship had taken a prize loden with silver. My Lord entred presently into this ship, & went to Falmouth, and we held on our course for Plimouth. At night we came neere to the Ram-head (the next Cape Westwards from Plimouth sound) but we were afraid to double it in the night, misdoubting the scantnesse of the winde. So we stood off to Sea halfe the night, and towards morning had the winde more large, and made too little spare thereof, that partly for this cause, and partly through mistaking of the land, wee were driven so much to leewards, that we could not double that Cape: Therefore we returned backe againe, and came into Falmouth haven, where wee stricke on ground in 17. foote water: but it was a low' ebbe, and ready againe to flowe, and the ground soft, so as no hurt was done. Here with gladnesse wee set foote againe upon the English ground (long desired) and refreshed our selves with keeping part of Christmas upon our native soile.

The valiant fight performed by 10. Merchants ships of London, against 12. Spanish gallies in the Straights of Gibraltar, the 24. of April 1590.

It is not long since sundry valiant ships appertaining to the Marchants of London, were freighted & rigged forth, some for Venice, some for Constantinople, & some to sundry other places of trafique, among whom these ensuing met within the Straights of Gibraltar, as they were taking their course homewards, having before escaped all other danger. The first whereof was the Salomon appertaining to M. Alderman Barnam of London, and M. Bond, and M. Twyd of Harwich; which went fourth the first day of February last. The second was the Margaret and John belonging to M. Wats of London: The thirde was the Minion: The fourth was the Ascension. The fifth was the Centurion of Master Cordal: The sixt the Violet: the seventh the Samuel: the eight the Crescent: the ninth the Elizabeth: and the 10. was the Richard belonging to M. Duffield. All these ships being of notable and approved service, comming neere to the mouth of the Straights hard by the coast of Barbary,



descried twelve tall Gallies bravely furnished and strongly provided with men and munition, ready to seaze upon these English ships: which being perceived by the Capitaines and Masters thereof, wee made speedy preparation for the defence of our selves, still waiting all the night long for the approching of the enemie. In the morning early being the Tuesday in Easter weeke, and the 24 of April 1590. according to our usual customes, we said Service and made our prayers unto Almighty God, beseeching him to save us from the hands of such tyrants as the Spaniards, whom we justly imagined to be, and whom we knew and had found to be our most mortall enemies upon the Sea. And having finished our prayers, and set our selves in a readinesse, we perceived them to come towards us, and that they were indeede the Spanish Gallies that lay under the conduct of Andre Doria, who is Vice-roy for the King of Spaine in the Straights of Gibraltar, and a notable knowne enemie to all Englishmen. So when they came somewhat neerer unto us, they waved us a maine for the King of Spaine, and wee waved them a maine for the Queene of England, at which time it pleased Almighty God greatly to incourage us all in such sort, as that the neerer they came the lesse we feared their great multitudes and huge number of men, which were planted in those Gallies to the number of two or three hundred men in ech Gallie. And it was thus concluded among us, that the foure first and tallest ships should be placed hindmost, and the weaker & smallest ships formost, and so it was performed, every man being ready to take part of such successe as it should please God to send.

At the first encounter the Gallies came upon us very fiercely, yet God so strengthened us, that if they had bene ten times more, we had not feared them at all. Whereupon the Salomon being a hot shippe, and having sundry cast pieces in her, gave the first shotte in such a sowre sort, as that it shared away so many men as sate on the one side of a Gallie, and pierced her through in such maner, as that she was ready to sinke, which made them to assault us the more fiercely. Whereupon the rest of our shippes, especially the foure chiefest, namely, the Margaret and John, the Minion, and the Ascension followed, and gave a hot charge upon them, and they at us, where began a hot and fierce battaile

with great valiancie the one against the other, and so continued for the space of sixe houres. About the beginning of this our fight there came two Flemings to our Fleet, who seeing the force of the Gallies to be so great, the one of them presently yeelded, strooke his sailes, and was taken by the Gallies, whereas if they would have offered themselves to have fought in our behalfe and their owne defence, they needed not to have bene taken so cowardly as they were to their cost. The other Fleming being also ready to performe the like piece of service began to vaile his sailes, and intended to have yeelded immediatly. But the Trumpetter in that shippe plucked foorth his faulchion and stepped to the Pilote at the helme, and vowed that if he did not speedily put off to the English Fleete, and so take part with them, he would presently kill him: which the Pilote for feare of death did, and so by that meanes they were defended from present death, and from the tyrannie of those Spaniards, which doubtlesse they should have found at their handes.

Thus we continued in fight sixe houres and somewhat more, wherein God gave us the upper hand, and we escaped the hands of so many enemies, who were constrained to flie into harbour and shroude themselves from us, and with speed to seeke for their owne safetie. This was the handie worke of God, who defended us all from danger in such sort, as that there was not one man of us slaine. And in all this fierce assault made upon us by the Spanish power, wee sustained no hurt or damage at all more then this, that the shrouds and backestay of the Salomon, who gave the first and last shot, and galled the enemy shrewdly all the time of the battell, were cleane stricken off.

The battell being ceased, we were constrained for want of wind to stay and waft up and downe, and then went backe againe to Tition in Barbary, which is sixe leagues off from Gibraltar, and when we came thither we found the people wonderous favourable to us, who being but Moores and heathen people shewed us where to have fresh water and al other necessaries for us. And there we had such good intertainment, as if we had bene in any place of England.

The governour was one that favoured us greatly, whom wee in respect of his great friendship presented with giftes

and such commodities as we had in our custodie, which he wonderfully wel accepted of: and here we stayed foure dayes.

After the battell was ceased, which was on Easter Tuesday, we stayed for want of winde before Gibraltar, untill the next morning, where wee were becalmed, and therefore looked every houre when they would have sent foorth some fresh supply against us, but they were farre unable to doe it, for all their Gallies were so sore battered, that they durst not come foorth of the harbour, by reason of our hot resistance which they so lately before had received. Yet were they greatly urged thereunto by the Governour of the said Towne of Gibraltar.

At our being at Tition in Barbary, there we heard report of the hurt that wee had done to the Gallies, for at our comming from them wee could not well discern any thing at all by reason of the smoake which the powder had made: there we heard that we had almost spoiled those twelve Gallies by shooting them cleane through, that two of them were ready to sinke, and that wee had slaine of their men such great abundance, as that they were not able to furnish forth any more Gallies at all for that yeere.

Thus after we came from Tition, we assayed to depart the Straight three severall times, but could not passe, yet, God be thanked, the fourth time wee came safely away, and so sailed with a pleasant winde untill wee came upon the coast of England, which was in the beginning of the moneth of July 1590.

The valiant fight performed in the Straight of Gibraltar, by the Centurion of London, against five Spanish Gallies, in the moneth of April 1591.

In the moneth of November 1590, there were sundry shippes appertaining to severall Marchants of London, which were rigged and fraught foorth with marchandize, for sundry places within the Straight of Gibraltar: who, together having winde and weather, which oftime fell out very uncertaine, arrived safely in short space, at such places as they desired. Among whom was the Centurion of London, a very tall shippe of burden, yet but weakely manned, as appeareth by this discourse following.

This aforesaid shippe called The Centurion safely

arrived at Marseils, where after they had delivered their goods, they stayed about the space of five weekes, and better, and then tooke in lading, intending to returne to England.

Now when the Centurion was ready to come away from Marseils, there were sundry other shippes of smaller burden which entreated the Master thereof, (whose name is Robert Bradshaw, dwelling at Lime-house) to stay a day or two for them, untill they were in a readinesse to depart with them, thereby perswading them, that it would be farre better for them to stay and goe together in respect of their assistance, then to depart of themselves without company, and so happily for want of aide fall into the hands of their enemies in the Spanish Gallies. Upon which reasonable perswasion, notwithstanding that this shippe was of such sufficiencie as they might hazard her in the danger of the Sea, yet they stayed for those litle shippes, according to their request, who together did put to Sea from Marseils, and vowed in generall not to flie one from another, if they should happen to<sup>d</sup> meete with any Spanish Gallies.

These small shippes, accompanied with the Centurion, sayling along the coast of Spaine, were upon Easter day in the Straight of Gibraltar suddenly becalmed, where immediatly they saw sundry Gallies make towards them, in very valiant and couragious sort: the chiefe Leaders and souldiers in those Gallies bravely appparelled in silke coates, with their silver whistles about their neckes, and great plumes of feathers in their hattes, who with their Calivers shot at the Centurion so fast as they might: so that by 10. of the clocke and somewhat before, they had boorded the Centurion, who before their comming had prepared for them, and intended to give them so soure a welcome as they might. And thereupon having prepared their close fights, and all things in a readinesse, they called upon God, on whom onely they trusted: and having made their prayers, and cheered up one another to fight so long as life endured, they beganne to discharge their great Ordinance upon the Gallies, but the little shippes durst not come forward, but lay aloofe, while five Gallies had boorded them, yea and with their grappling irons made their Gallies fast to the said shippe called the Centurion.

The Gallies were grapled to the Centurion in this maner,

vo lay on one side, and two on another, and the Admirall y full in the sterne, which galled and battered the Centurion so sore, that her maine Maste was greatly weakened, her sailes filled with many holes, and the rizen and sterne made almost unserviceable.

During which time there was a sore and deadly fight on both sides, in which the Trumpet of the Centurion sounded foorth the deadly points of warre, and encouraged them to fight manfully against their adversaries: on the contrary part, there was no warlike Musicke in the Spanish Gallies, but onely their whistles of silver, which they sounded foorth to their owne contentment: in which fight many a Spaniard was turned into the Sea, and they multitudes came crawling and hung upon the side of the shippe, intending to have entred into the same, but such was the courage of the Englishmen, that so fast the Spaniards did come to enter, they gave them such entertainment, that some of them were glad to tumble live into the Sea, being remedlesse for ever to get up live. In the Centurion there were in all, of men and boys, fourtie and eight, who together fought most valiantly, and so galled the enemye, that many a brave and lustie Spaniard lost his life in that place.

The Centurion was fired five severall times, with wilde fire and other provision, which the Spaniards threw in for that purpose: yet, God be thanked, by the great and diligent foresight of the Master it did no harme at all.

In every of the Gallies there were about 200. souldiers: so together with the shot, spoiled, rent, and battered the Centurion very sore, shot through her maine Maste, and slew 4. of the men in the said shippe, the one of them being the Masters mate.

Ten other persons were hurt, by meanes of splinters which the Spaniards shotte: yea, in the ende when their provision was almost spent, they were constrained to pöote at them hammers, and the chaines from their maves, and yet God bee thanked, they received no more damage: but by spoyling and overwearying of the Spaniards, the Englishmen constrained them to ungrapple themselves, and get them going: and sure if there had been any other fresh shippe or succour to have relieved and assisted the Centurion, they had slaine, suncke, or taken all those Gallies and their Souldiers,

The Dolphin lay a loofe off and durst not come neere while the other two small shippes fledde away, so that one of the Gallies went from the Centurion and set upon the Dolphin, which shippe immediatly was set on fire with their owne powder, whereby both men and shippe perished: but whether it was with their good wills or no, that was not knowen unto the Centurion, but sure if it had come forward, and bene an aide unto the Centurion, it is to bee supposed that it had not perished.

Five houres and a halfe this fight continued, in which time both were glad to depart onely to breath themselves but when the Spaniards were gone, they never durst returne to fight: yet the next day sixe other Gallies came and looked at them, but durst not at any hand meddle with them.

Thus God delivered them from the handes of their enemies, and gave them the victory: for which they heartily praised him, and not long after safely arrived in London.



There were present at this fight Master John Hawes Marchant, and sundry other of good accompt.



# EVERYMAN'S LIBRARY

By ERNEST RHYS

VICTOR HUGO said a Library was "an act of faith," and some unknown essayist spoke of one so beautiful, so perfect, so harmonious in all its parts, that he who made it was smitten with a passion. In that faith the promoters of Everyman's Library planned it out originally on a large scale; and their idea in so doing was to make it conform as far as possible to a perfect scheme. However, perfection is a thing to be aimed at and not to be achieved in this difficult world; and since the first volumes appeared some fifteen years ago, there have been many interruptions. A great war has come and gone; and even the City of Books has felt something like a world commotion. Only in recent years is the series getting back into its old stride and looking forward to complete its original scheme of a Thousand Volumes. One of the practical expedients in that original plan was to divide the volumes into sections, as Biography, Fiction, History, Belles Lettres, Poetry, Romance and so forth; with a compartment for young people, and last, and not least, one of Reference Books. Beside the dictionaries and encyclopædias to be expected in that section, there was a special set of literary and historical atlases. One of these atlases dealing with Europe, we may recall, was directly affected by the disturbance of frontiers during the war; and the maps have been completely revised in consequence, so as to chart

the New Europe which we hope will now preserve its peace under the auspices of the League of Nations set up at Geneva.

That is only one small item, however, in a library list which runs to over seven hundred and sixty volumes. The largest slice of this huge provision is, as a matter of course, given to the tyrannous demands of fiction. But in carrying out the scheme, the directors and editors contrived to keep in mind that books, like men and women, have their elective affinities. The present volume, for instance, will be found to have its companion books, both in the same section and even more significantly in other sections. With that idea too, novels like Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* and *Fortunes of Nigel*, Lytton's *Harold*, and Dickens's *Tale of Two Cities* have been used as pioneers of history and treated as a sort of holiday history books. History itself in our day is tending to grow more documentary and less literary; and "the historian who is a stylist," as one of our contributors, the late Thomas Seccombe, said, "will soon be regarded as a kind of Phoenix." But in the history department of Everyman's Library we have been eclectic enough to choose our history men from every school in turn. We have Grote, Gibbon, Finlay, Macaulay, Motley, Prescott; we have among earlier books the Venerable Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and we have just completed a Livy in six volumes in an admirable new translation by Canon Roberts.

"You only, O Books," said Richard de Bury, "are liberal and independent; you give to all who ask." The delightful variety, the wisdom and the wit which are at the disposal of Everyman in his own library may well, at times, seem to him a little embarrassing. He may turn to Dick Steele in the *Spectator* and learn how Cleomira dances, when the elegance of her motion is unimaginable and "her eyes are chastised with the simplicity and innocence of her thoughts." He may turn to Plato's Phædrus

and read how every soul is divided into three parts (like Cæsar's Gaul). He may turn to the finest critic of Victorian times, Matthew Arnold, and find in his essay on Maurice de Guérin the perfect key to what is there called the "magical power of poetry." It is Shakespeare, with his

"daffodils  
That come before the swallow dares, and take  
The winds of March with beauty;"

it is Wordsworth, with his

"voice . . . heard  
In spring-time from the cuckoo-bird,  
Breaking the silence of the seas"  
Among the farthest Hebrides;"

or Keats, with his

". . . moving waters at their priest-like task  
Of cold ablution round Earth's human shores."

William Hazlitt's "Table Talk," among the volumes of *Essays*, may help to show the relationship of one author to another, which is another form of the Friendship of Books. His incomparable essay in that volume, "On Going a Journey," forms a capital prelude to Coleridge's "Biographia Literaria" and to his and Wordsworth's poems. In the same way one may turn to the review of Moore's *Life of Byron* in Macaulay's *Essays* as a prelude to the three volumes of Byron's own poems, remembering that the poet whom Europe loved more than England did was as Macaulay said: "the beginning, the middle and the end of all his own poetry." This brings us to the provoking reflection that it is the obvious authors and the books most easy to reprint which have been the signal successes out of the seven hundred odd in the series, for Everyman is distinctly proverbial in his tastes. He likes best of all an old author who has worn well or

a comparatively new author who has gained something like newspaper notoriety. In attempting to lead him on from the good books that are known to those that are less known, the publishers may have at times been too adventurous. The *Chief* himself (as a mere editor may say) has been much more than an ordinary book-producer in this critical enterprise. He has thrown himself into it with the zeal of a book-lover and indeed of one who, like Milton, thought that books might be as alive and productive as dragons' teeth, which, being "sown up and down the land, might chance to spring up armed men."

# EVERYMAN'S LIBRARY

## A LIST OF THE 930 VOLUMES ARRANGED UNDER AUTHORS

*Anonymous works are given under titles.*

*Anthologies, Dictionaries, etc. are arranged at the end of the list.*

- Abbott's Rollo at Work, etc., 275  
Addison's Spectator, 164-7  
Æschylus's Lyrical Dramas, 62  
Æsop's and Other Fables, 657  
Aimard's The Indian Scout, 428  
Ainsworth's Tower of London, 400  
    " Old St. Paul's, 522  
    " Windsor Castle, 709  
    " Rookwood, 870  
    " The Admirable Crichton, 894  
A Kempis's Imitation of Christ, 484  
Alcott's Little Women, and Good  
    Wives, 248  
    " Little Men, 512  
Alpine Club: Peaks, Passes and  
    Glaciers, 778  
Andersen's Fairy Tales, 4  
    " More Fairy Tales, 822  
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 624  
Anson's Voyages, 510  
Aristophanes' Acharnians, etc., 344  
    " Frogs, etc., 516  
Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics, 547  
    " Politics, 605  
    " Poetics, and Demetrius  
        on Style, etc., 901  
Armour's Fall of the Nibelungs,  
    312  
    " Gudrun, 880  
Arnold's (Matthew) Essays, 115  
    " Poems, 334  
    " Study of Celtic Literature,  
        etc., 458  
Aucassin and Nicolette, 497  
Augustine's (Saint) Confessions,  
    200  
Aurelius's (Marcus) Meditations, 9  
Austin's (Jane) Sense and Sensi-  
    bility, 21  
    " Pride and Prejudice, 22  
    " Mansfield Park, 23  
    " Emma, 24  
    " Northanger Abbey, and  
        Persuasion, 25  
Bacon's Essays, 10  
    " Advancement of Learning,  
        719  
Bagehot's Literary Studies, 520, 521  
Baker's (Sir S. W.) Cast up by the  
    Sea, 539  
Ballantyne's Coral Island, 245  
    " Martin Rattler, 246  
    " Ungava, 276  
Balzac's Wild Ass's Skin, 26  
    " Eugénie Grandet, 169  
    " Old Goriot, 170  
    " Atheist's Mass, etc., 229  
    " Christ in Flanders, etc., 284  
    " The Chouans, 285  
    " Quest of the Absolute, 286  
    " Cat and Ratchet, etc., 349  
    " Catherine de Medici, 419  
    " Cousin Pons, 463  
    " The Country Doctor, 530  
    " Rise and Fall of César  
        Birotteau, 596  
    " Lost Illusions, 656  
    " The Country Parson, 686  
    " Ursule Mirouet, 733  
Barbusse's Under Fire, 798  
Barca's (Mme C. de la) Life in  
    Mexico, 664  
Bates's Naturalist on the Amazon,  
    446  
Baxter's (Richard) Autobiography,  
    868  
Beaumont and Fletcher's Selected  
    Plays, 506  
Beaumont's (Mary) Joan Seaton, 597  
Bede's Ecclesiastical History, 479  
Belt's Naturalist in Nicaragua, 561  
Bennett's The Old Wives' Tale, 919  
Berkeley's (Bishop) Principles of  
    Human Knowledge, New Theory  
        of Vision, etc., 483  
Berilloz (Hector), Life of, 602  
Binns's Life of Abraham Lincoln,  
    783

- Björnson's Plays, 625, 696  
 Blackmore's Lorna Doone, 304  
 " Springhaven, 350  
 Blackwell's Pioneer Work for Women, 667  
 Blake's Poems and Prophecies, 792  
 Boccaccio's Decameron, 845, 846  
 Boehme's The Signature of All Things, etc., 569  
 Bonaventura's The Little Flowers, The Life of St. Francis, etc., 485  
 Borrow's Wild Wales, 49  
 " Lavengro, 119  
 " Romany Rye, 120  
 " Bible in Spain, 151  
 " Gypsies in Spain, 697  
 Boswell's Life of Johnson, 1, 2  
 " Tour to the Hebrides, 387  
 Boulton's Asgard and Norse Heroes, 689  
 Boyle's The Sceptical Chymist, 559  
 Bright's (John) Speeches, 552  
 Brontë's (A.) The Tenant of Wildfell Hall, and Agnes Grey, 635  
 Brontë's (C.) Jane Eyre, 287  
 " Shirley, 288  
 " Villette, 351  
 " The Professor, 417  
 Brontë's (E.) Wuthering Heights, 243  
 Brown's (Dr. John) Rab and His Friends, etc., 116  
 Browne's (Frances) Grannie's Wonderful Chair, 112  
 Browne's (Sir Thos.) Religio Medici, etc., 92  
 Browning's Poems, 1833-44, 41  
 " 1844-64, 42  
 " The Ring and the Book, 502  
 Buchanan's Life and Adventures of Audubon, 601  
 Bulfinch's The Age of Fable, 472  
 " Legends of Charlemagne, 556  
 Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, 204  
 " Grace Abounding, and Mr. Badman, 815  
 Burke's American Speeches and Letters, 340  
 " Reflections on the French Revolution, etc., 460  
 Burnet's History of His Own Times, 85  
 Burney's Evelina, 352  
 Burns's Poems and Songs, 94  
 Burton's East Africa, 500  
 Burton's (Robert) Anatomy of Melancholy, 886-8  
 Butler's Analogy of Religion, 90  
 Butler's (Samuel) Erewhon and Erewhon Revisited, 881  
 Butler's The Way of All Flesh, 895  
 Buxton's Memoirs, 773  
 Byron's Complete Poetical and Dramatic Works, 486-8  
 Cæsar's Gallic War, etc., 702  
 Calderon's Plays, 819  
 Canton's Child's Book of Saints, 61  
 " Invisible Playmate, etc., 566  
 Carlyle's French Revolution, 31, 32  
 " Letters, etc., of Cromwell, 266-8  
 " Sartor Resartus, 278  
 " Past and Present, 603  
 " Essays, 703, 704  
 " Reminiscences, 875  
 Carroll's (Lewis) Alice in Wonderland, etc., 836  
 Castiglione's The Courtier, 807  
 Cellini's Autobiography, 51  
 Cervantes' Don Quixote, 385, 386  
 Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, 307  
 Chesterfield's Letters to his Son, 823  
 Chesterton's Stories, Essays, and Poems, 913  
 Chrétien de Troyes's Arthurian Romances, 698  
 Cibber's Apology for his Life, 668  
 Cicero's Select Letters and Orations, 345  
 Clarke's Tales from Chaucer, 537  
 " Shakespeare's Heroines, 109-11  
 Cobbett's Rural Rides, 638, 639  
 Coleridge's Biographia, 11  
 " Golden Book of Poetry, 43  
 " Lectures on Shakspeare, 162  
 Collins's Woman in White, 464  
 Collodi's Pinocchio, 538  
 Conrad's Lord Jim, 925  
 Converse's Long Will, 323  
 " House of Prayer, 923  
 Cook's (Captain) Voyages, 99  
 Cooper's The Deerslayer, 77  
 " The Pathfinder, 78  
 " Last of the Mohicans, 79  
 " The Pioneer, 171  
 " The Prairie, 172  
 Cowper's Letters, 774  
 " Poems, 872  
 Cox's Tales of Ancient Greece, 721  
 Craik's Manual of English Literature, 346  
 Craik (Mrs.). See Mulock.  
 Creasy's Fifteen Decisive Battles, 300  
 Crèvecoeur's Letters from an American Farmer, 640  
 Curtis's Prue and I, and Lotus, 418  
 Dana's Two Years Before the Mast, 588  
 Dante's Divine Comedy, 308  
 Darwin's Origin of Species, 811  
 " Voyage of the Beagle, 104  
 Dasent's Story of Burnt Njal, 558  
 Daudet's Tartarin of Tarascon, 423  
 Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, 59  
 " Captain Singleton, 74  
 " Memoirs of a Cavalier, 283  
 " Journal of Plague, 289  
 " Tour through England and Wales, 820, 821  
 " Moll Flanders, 837  
 De Joinville's Memoirs of the Crusades, 333



- Demosthenes' Select Orations, 546  
 Dennis's Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, 183, 184  
 De Quincey's Lake Poets, 163  
 " Opium-Eater, 223  
 " English Mail Coach, etc., 609  
 De Retz (Cardinal), Memoirs of, 735, 736  
 Descartes' Discourse on Method, 570  
 Dickens's Barnaby Rudge, 76  
 " Tale of Two Cities, 102  
 " Old Curiosity Shop, 173  
 " Oliver Twist, 233  
 " Great Expectations, 234  
 " Pickwick Papers, 235  
 " Bleak House, 236  
 " Sketches by Boz, 237  
 " Nicholas Nickleby, 238  
 " Christmas Books, 239  
 " Dombey and Son, 240  
 " Martin Chuzzlewit, 241  
 " David Copperfield, 242  
 " American Notes, 290  
 " Child's History of England, 291  
 " Hard Times, 292  
 " Little Dorrit, 293  
 " Our Mutual Friend, 294  
 " Christmas Stories, 414  
 " Uncommercial Traveller, 536  
 " Edwin Drood, 725  
 " Reprinted Pieces, 744  
 Disraeli's Coningsby, 535  
 Dodge's Hans Brinker, 620  
 Donne's Poems, 867  
 Dostoevsky's Crime and Punishment, 501  
 " The House of the Dead, 533  
 " Letters from the Underworld, etc., 654  
 " The Idiot, 682  
 " Poor Folk, and the Gambler, 711  
 " The Brothers Karamazov, 802, 803  
 " The Possessed, 861, 862  
 Dowden's Life of R. Browning, 701  
 Dryden's Dramatic Essays, 568  
 " Poems, 910  
 Dufferin's Letters from High Latitudes, 499  
 Dumas' The Three Musketeers, 81  
 " The Black Tulip, 174  
 " Twenty Years After, 175  
 " Marguerite de Valois, 326  
 " The Count of Monte Cristo, 393, 394  
 " The Forty-Five, 420  
 " Chicot the Jester, 421  
 " Vicomte de Bragelonne, 593-5  
 " Le Chevalier de Maison Rouge, 614  
 Du Maurier's Trilby, 863  
 Duruy's Heroes of England, 471  
 " History of France, 737, 738  
 Eddington's Nature of the Physical World, 922  
 Edgar's Cressy and Poictiers, 17  
 " Runnymede and Lincoln Fair, 320 1410  
 Edgeworth's Castle Rackrent, etc., Eighteenth-Century Plays, 818  
 Eliot's Adam Bede, 27  
 " Silas Marner, 121  
 " Romola, 231  
 " Mill on the Floss, 325  
 " Felix Holt, 353  
 " Scenes of Clerical Life, 463  
 " Middlemarch, 2 vols., 854-5  
 Ellis's (Havelock) Selected Essays, Elyot's Gouvernour, 227 1930  
 Emerson's Essays, 12  
 " Representative Men, 279  
 " Nature, Conduct of Life, etc., 322  
 " Society and Solitude, etc., 567  
 " Poems, 715  
 Epictetus's Moral Discourses, 404  
 Ereckmann-Chatrian's The Conscript and Waterloo, 354  
 " Story of a Peasant, 706, 707  
 Euclid's Elements, 891  
 Euripides' Plays, 63, 271  
 Evans's Holy Graal, 445  
 Evelyn's Diary, 220, 221  
 Everyman and other Interludes, 381  
 Ewing's (Mrs.) Mrs. Overthway's Remembrances, etc., 730  
 " Jackanapes, Daddy Darwin's Dovecot, and The Story of a Short Life, 731  
 Faraday's Experimental Researches in Electricity, 576  
 Ferrier's (Susan) Marriage, 816  
 Fielding's Tom Jones, 355, 356  
 " Amelia, 2 vols., 852-3  
 " Joseph Andrews, 467  
 " Jonathan Wild and the Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon, 877  
 Finlay's Byzantine Empire, 33  
 " Greece under the Romans, 185  
 Flaubert's Madame Bovary, 808  
 " Salammbô, 869  
 Fletcher's (Beaumont and) Selected Plays, 506  
 Ford's Gatherings from Spain, 152  
 Forster's Life of Dickens, 781, 782  
 Fox's (George) Journal, 754  
 Fox's (Charles James) Selected Speeches, 759  
 Francis's (Saint), The Little Flowers, etc., 485  
 Franklin's Journey to the Polar Sea, 447  
 Freeman's Old English History for Children, 540  
 French Mediaeval Romances, 557

- Froissart's Chronicles, 57  
 Froude's Short Studies, 13, 705  
 " Henry VIII, 372-4  
 " Edward VI, 375  
 " Mary Tudor, 477  
 " History of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, 583-7  
 " Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield, 666  
 Galsworthy's The Country House, 917  
 Galt's Annals of the Parish, 427  
 Galton's Inquiries into Human Faculty, 263  
 Gaskell's Cranford, 83  
 " Life of Charlotte Brontë, 318  
 " Sylvia's Lovers, 524  
 " Mary Barton, 598  
 " Cousin Phillis, etc., 615  
 " North and South, 680  
 Gatty's Parables from Nature, 158  
 Geoffrey of Monmouth's Histories of the Kings of Britain, 577  
 George's Progress and Poverty, 560  
 Gibbon's Roman Empire, 434-6, 474-6  
 " Autobiography, 511  
 Gillfillan's Literary Portraits, 348  
 Giraldus Cambrensis, Wales, 272  
 Gleig's Life of Wellington, 341  
 " The Subaltern, 708  
 Goethe's Faust, 335  
 " Conversations with Eckermann, 851  
 " Wilhelm Meister, 599, 600  
 Gogol's Dead Souls, 726  
 " Taras Bulba, 740  
 Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield, 295  
 " Poems and Plays, 415  
 " Citizen of the World, etc., 902  
 Goncharov's Oblomov, 378  
 Gore's Philosophy of the Good Life, 924  
 Gorki's Through Russia, 741  
 Gotthelf's Ulric the Farm Servant, 228  
 Gray's Poems and Letters, 628  
 Green's Short History of the English People, 727, 728. The cloth edition is in 2 vols. All other editions are in 1 vol.  
 Grettir Saga, 699  
 Grimm's Fairy Tales, 56  
 Grote's History of Greece, 186-197  
 Guest's (Lady) Mabinogion, 97  
 Hahnemann's The Organon of the Rational Art of Healing, 663  
 Hakluyt's Voyages, 264, 265, 313, 314, 338, 339, 388, 389  
 Hallam's Constitutional History, 621-3  
 Hamilton's The Federalist, 519  
 Harte's Luck of Roaring Camp, 681  
 Harvey's Circulation of Blood, 262  
 Hawthorne's Wonder Book, 5  
 " The Scarlet Letter, 122  
 " House of Seven Gables, 176  
 " The Marble Faun, 424  
 " Twice Told Tales, 531  
 " Blithedale Romance, 592  
 Hazlitt's Characters of Shakespeare's Plays, 65  
 " Table Talk, 321  
 " Lectures, 411  
 " Spirit of the Age and Lectures on English Poets, 459  
 " Plain Speaker, 814  
 Hebbel's Plays, 694  
 Heimskringla: the Olaf Sagas, 717  
 " Sagas of the Norse Kings, 847  
 Heine's Prose and Poetry, 911  
 Helps' (Sir Arthur) Life of Columbus, 332  
 Herbert's Temple, 309  
 Herodotus, 405, 406  
 Herrick's Hesperides, 310  
 Hobbes's Leviathan, 691  
 Holinshed's Chronicle, 800  
 Holmes's Life of Mozart, 564  
 Holmes's (O. W.) Autocrat, 66  
 " Professor, 67  
 " Poet, 68  
 Homer's Iliad, 453  
 " Odyssey, 454  
 Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, 201, 202 [615  
 Horace's Complete Poetical Works, 1615  
 Houghton's Life and Letters of Keats, 801  
 Howard's (E.) Rattlin the Reefer, 857  
 Howard's (John) State of the Prisons, 835 [926  
 Hudson's (W. H.) A Shepherd's Life, 1926  
 Hughes's Tom Brown's Schooldays, 58  
 Hugo's (Victor) Les Misérables, 363, 364  
 " Notre Dame, 422  
 " Toilers of the Sea, 509  
 Hume's Treatise of Human Nature, etc., 548, 549  
 Hunt's (Leigh) Selected Essays, 829  
 Hutchinson's (Col.) Memoirs, 317  
 Huxley's Man's Place in Nature, 47  
 " Select Lectures and Lay Sermons, 498  
 Ibsen's The Doll's House, etc., 491  
 " Ghosts, etc., 552  
 " Pretender, Pillars of Society, Rosmersholm, 659  
 " Brand, 716  
 " Lady Inger, etc., 729  
 " Peer Gynt, 747  
 Ingelow's Mopsa the Fairy, 619  
 Irving's Sketch Book, 117  
 " Conquest of Granada, 478  
 " Life of Mahomet, 513

## Italian Short Stories, 876

James's (G. P. R.) Richelieu, 357  
 James' (Henry) The Turn of the Screw and The Aspern Papers, 912  
 James (Wm.), Selections from, 739  
 Jefferies' (Richard) Bevis, 850  
 Johnson's (Dr.) Lives of the Poets, 770-1  
 Jonson's (Ben) Plays, 489, 490  
 Josephus's Wars of the Jews, 712  
 Kalidasa's Shakuntala, 629  
 Kant, Critique of Pure Reason, 909  
 Keats's Poems, 101  
 Keble's Christian Year, 690  
 King's Life of Mazzini, 562  
 Kinglake's Eothen, 337  
 Kingsley's (Chas.) Westward Ho! 20  
 " Heroes, 113  
 " Hereward the Wake, 206  
 " Hypatia, 230  
 " Water Babies, and Glaucus, 277  
 " Alton Locke, 462  
 " Yeast, 611  
 " Madam How and Lady Why, 777  
 " Poems, 793  
 Kingsley's (Henry) Ravenshoe, 28  
 " Geoffrey Hamlyn, 416  
 Kingston's Peter the Whaler, 6  
 " Three Midshipmen, 7  
 Kirby's Kalevala, 259-60  
 Koran, 330  
 Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare, 8  
 " Essays of Elia, 14  
 " Letters, 342, 343  
 Lander's Imaginary Conversations and Poems, 890  
 Lane's Modern Egyptians, 315  
 Langland's Piers Plowman, 571  
 Latimer's Sermons, 40  
 Law's Serious Call, 91  
 Lawrence's The White Peacock, 914  
 Layamon's (Wace and) Arthurian Chronicles, 578  
 Lear (Edward). *See under Anthologies*  
 Leibniz' Philosophical Writings, 905  
 Le Sage's Gil Blas, 437, 438  
 Leslie's Memoirs of John Constable, 563  
 Lessing's Laocoön, etc., 843  
 Lever's Harry Lorrequer, 177  
 Lewes' Life of Goethe, 269  
 Lincoln's Speeches, etc., 206  
 Livy's History of Rome, 603, 609, 670, 749, 755, 756  
 Locke's Civil Government, 751  
 Lockhart's Life of Napoleon, 3  
 " Life of Scott, 55  
 " Life of Burns, 156  
 Longfellow's Poems, 382  
 Lönnroth's Kalevala, 259, 260  
 Loti's Iceland Fisherman, 920

Lover's Handy Andy, 178  
 Lowell's Among My Books, 607  
 Lucretius's Of the Nature of Things, 750  
 Lützow's History of Bohemia, 432  
 Lyell's Antiquity of Man, 700  
 Lytton's Harold, 15  
 " Last of the Barons, 18  
 " Last Days of Pompeii, 80  
 " Pilgrims of the Rhine, 390  
 " Rienzi, 532  
 Macaulay's England, 34-6  
 " Essays, 225, 226  
 " Speeches on Politics, etc., 399  
 " Miscellaneous Essays, 439  
 MacDonald's Sir Gibbie, 678  
 " Phantastes, 732  
 Machiavelli's Prince, 280  
 " Florence, 376  
 Maine's Ancient Law, 734 [46  
 Malory's Le Morte D'Arthur, 45,  
 Malthus on the Principles of Population, 692, 693  
 Mandeville's Travels, 812  
 Manning's Sir Thomas More, 19  
 " Mary Powell, and Deborah's Diary, 324  
 Marlowe's Plays and Poems, 383  
 Marryat's Mr. Midshipman Easy, 82  
 " Little Savage, 159  
 " Masterman Ready, 160  
 " Peter Simple, 232  
 " Children of New Forest, 247  
 " Percival Keene, 358  
 " Settlers in Canada, 370  
 " King's Own, 580  
 " Jacob Faithful, 618  
 Martineau's Feats on the Fjords, 429  
 Martinengo-Cesaresco's Folk-Lore and other Essays, 673  
 Marx's Capital, 848, 849  
 Maupassant's Short Stories, 907  
 Maurice's Kingdom of Christ, 146-7  
 Mazzini's Duties of Man, etc., 224  
 Melville's Moby Dick, 179  
 " Typee, 180  
 " Omoo, 297  
 Meredith's The Ordeal of Richard Feverel, 916  
 Mérimée's Carmen, etc., 834  
 Merville's History of Rome, 433  
 Mickiewicz's Pan Tadeusz, 842  
 Mignet's French Revolution, 713  
 Mill's Utilitarianism, Liberty, Representative Government, 482  
 " Rights of Woman, 825  
 Miller's Old Red Sandstone, 103  
 Milman's History of the Jews, 377, 378  
 Milton's Areopagitica and other Prose Works, 795  
 " Poems, 384  
 Mitford's Our Village, 927  
 Molière's Comedies, 830-1

- Mommsen's History of Rome, 542-5  
 Montagu's (Lady) Letters, 69  
 Montaigne's Essays, 440-2  
 More's Utopia, and Dialogue of  
     Comfort against Tribulation, 461  
 Morier's Hajji Baba, 679  
 Morris's (Wm.) Early Romances, 261  
     " Life and Death of Jason, 575  
 Morte D'Arthur Romances, 634  
 Motley's Dutch Republic, 86-8  
 Mulock's John Halifax, 123  
  
 Neale's Fall of Constantinople, 655  
 Newcastle's (Margaret, Duchess of)  
     Life of the First Duke of New-  
     castle, etc., 722  
 Newman's Apologia Pro Vita Sua,  
     636  
     " On the Scope and Nature  
     of "University Education, and a  
     Paper on Christianity and Scien-  
     tific Investigation, 723  
 Nietzsche's Thus Spake Zarathustra,  
     892  
  
 Oliphant's Salem Chapel, 244  
 Omar Khayyam, 819  
 Osborne (Dorothy), Letters of, 674  
 Owen's (Robert) A New View of  
     Society, etc., 799  
  
 Paine's Rights of Man, 718  
 Palgrave's Golden Treasury, 96  
 Paltock's Peter Wilkins, 676  
 Park's (Mungo) Travels, 205  
 Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac,  
     302, 303  
 Pascall's Pensees, 874  
 Paston Letters, 752, 753  
 Pater's Marius the Epicurean, 903  
 Peacock's Headlong Hall, 327  
 Penn's The Peace of Europe, Some  
     Fruits of Solitude, etc., 724  
 Pepys's Diary, 53, 54  
 Percy's Reliques, 148, 149 [929  
 Pinnow's (H.) History of Germany,  
 Pitt's Orations, 145  
 Plato's Republic, 64  
     " Dialogues, 456, 457  
 Plutarch's Lives, 407-409  
     " Moralia, 565  
 Poe's "Tales of Mystery and Imag-  
     ination, 336  
     " Poems and Essays, 791  
 Polo's (Marco) Travels, 306  
 Pope's Complete Poetical Works, 760  
 Prescott's Conquest of Peru, 301  
     " Conquest of Mexico, 397, 398  
 Prevost's Manon Lescaut, etc., 834  
 Procter's Legends and Lyrics, 150  
 Pushkin's The Captain's Daughter,  
     etc., 898  
  
 Quiller-Couch's Hetty Wesley, 864  
  
 Rabelais's Gargantua and Panta-  
     gruel, 826, 827  
 Radcliffe's (Mrs. Ann) The Mysteries  
     of Udolpho, 865, 866  
  
 Ramayana and Mahabharata, 403  
 Reade's The Cloister and the  
     Hearth, 29  
 Reade's Peg Woffington, 299  
 Reid's (Mayne) Boy Hunters of the  
     Mississippi, 582  
     " The Boy Slaves, 797  
 Renan's Life of Jesus, 805  
 Reynold's Discourses, 118  
 Ricardo's Principles of Political  
     Economy and Taxation, 590  
 Richardson's Pamela, 683, 684  
     Clarissa, 882-5  
 Roberts' (Morley) Western Avernus,  
     762  
 Robertson's Religion and Life, 37  
     " Christian Doctrine, 38  
     " Bible Subjects, 39  
 Robinson's (Wade) Sermons, 637  
 Roget's Thesaurus, 630, 631  
 Rossetti's (D. G.) Poems, 627  
 Rousseau's Emile, 518  
     " Social Contract and  
     other Essays, 660  
     Confessions, 859, 860  
 Ruskin's Seven Lamps of Archi-  
     tecture, 207  
     " Modern Painters, 208-212  
     " Stones of Venice, 213-215  
     " Unto this Last, etc., 216  
     " Elements of Drawing, etc.,  
     217  
     " Pre-Raphaelitism, etc., 218  
     " Sesame and Lilies, 219  
     " Ethics of the Dust, 232  
     " Crown of Wild Olive, and  
     Cestus of Aglaia, 323  
     " Time and Tide, etc., 450  
     " The Two Boyhoods, 683  
 Russell's Life of Gladstone, 661  
  
 Sand's (George) The Devil's Pool,  
     and François the Waif, 534  
 Scheffel's Ekkehard, 529 [710  
 Scott's (M.) Tom Cringle's Log,  
 Scott's (Sir W.) Ivanhoe, 16  
     " Fortunes of Nigel, 71  
     " Woodstock, 72  
     " Waverley, 75  
     " The Abbot, 124  
     " Anne of Geierstein, 125  
     " The Antiquary, 126  
     " Highland Widow, and Be-  
     trothed, 127  
     " Black Dwarf, Legend of Mont-  
     rose, 128  
     " Bride of Lammermoor, 129  
     " Castle Dangerous, Surgeon's  
     Daughter, 130  
     " Robert of Paris, 131  
     " Fair Maid of Perth, 132  
     " Guy Mannering, 133  
     " Heart of Midlothian, 134  
     " Kenilworth, 135  
     " The Monastery, 136  
     " Old Mortality, 137  
     " Peveril of the Peak, 138  
     " The Pirate, 139

- Scott's (Sir W.) *Quentin Durward*, 140  
 " *Redgauntlet*, 141  
 " *Rob Roy*, 142  
 " *St. Ronan's Well*, 143  
 " *The Talisman*, 144  
 " *Lives of the Novelists*, 331  
 " *Poems and Plays*, 550, 551  
 Seeböhm's *Oxford Reformers*, 665  
 Seeley's *Ecce Homo*, 305  
 Sewell's (Anna) *Black Beauty*, 748  
 Shakespeare's *Comedies*, 153  
 " *Histories, etc.*, 154  
 " *Tragedies*, 155  
 Shchedrin's *The Golovlyov Family*, 908  
 Shelley's *Poetical Works*, 257, 258  
 Shelley's (Mrs.) *Frankenstein*, 616  
 " *Rights of Women*, 825  
 Sheppard's *Charles Auchester*, 505  
 Sheridan's *Plays*, 95  
 Sienkiewicz's *Tales*, 871  
 Sismondi's *Italian Republics*, 250  
 Smeaton's *Life of Shakespeare*, 514  
 Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, 412, 413  
 Smith's (George) *Life of Wm. Carey*, 395  
 Smollett's *Roderick Random*, 790  
 " *Peregrine Pickle*, 838, 839  
 Sophocles' *Dramas*, 114  
 Southey's *Life of Nelson*, 52  
 Spectator, 164-7  
 Speke's *Source of the Nile*, 50  
 Spencer's (Herbert) *Essays on Education*, 503  
 Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, 443, 444  
 " *The Shepherd's Calendar*, 879  
 Spinoza's *Ethics, etc.*, 481  
 Spyri's *Heidi*, 431  
 Stanley's *Memorials of Canterbury*, 89  
 " *Eastern Church*, 251  
 Steele's *The Spectator*, 164-7  
 Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, 617  
 " *Sentimental Journey and Journal to Eliza*, 796  
 Stevenson's *Treasure Island and Kidnapped*, 763  
 " *Master of Ballantrae and the Black Arrow*, 764  
 " *Virginibus Puerisque and Familiar Studies of Men and Books*, 765  
 " *An Inland Voyage, Travels with a Donkey, and Silverado Squatters*, 766  
 " *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, The Merry Men, etc.*, 767  
 " *Poems*, 768  
 " *In the South Seas and Island Nights' Entertainments*, 769  
 " *St. Ives*, 904  
 St. Francis, *The Little Flowers of, etc.*, 485  
 Stow's *Survey of London*, 589  
 Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 371  
 Strickland's *Queen Elizabeth*, 100  
 Surtees' *Jorrocks' Jaunts*, 317  
 Swedenborg's *Heaven and Hell*, 379  
 " *Divine Love and Wisdom*, 635 [658]  
 " *Divine Providence, The True Christian Religion*, 893  
 Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, 60  
 " *Tale of a Tub, etc.*, 347  
 " *Journal to Stella*, 757  
 Swiss Family Robinson, 430  
 Tacitus's *Annals*, 273  
 " *Agricola and Germania*, 274  
 Taylor's *Words and Places*, 517  
 Tennyson's *Poems*, 44, 626  
 Thackeray's *Esmond*, 73  
 " *Vanity Fair*, 298  
 " *Christmas Books*, 359  
 " *Pendennis*, 425, 426  
 " *Newcomes*, 465, 466  
 " *The Virginians*, 507, 508  
 " *English Humorists, and The Four Georges*, 610  
 " *Roundabout Papers*, 687  
 Thierry's *Norman Conquest*, 193, 199  
 Thoreau's *Walden*, 281  
 Thucydides' *Peloponnesian War*, 455  
 Tolstoy's *Master and Man, and Other Parables and Tales*, 469  
 " *War and Peace*, 525-7  
 " *Childhood, Boyhood and Youth*, 591  
 " *Anna Karenina*, 612, 613  
 Trench's *On the Study of Words and English Past and Present*, 788  
 Trollope's *Barchester Towers*, 30  
 " *Framley Parsonage*, 181  
 " *The Warden*, 182  
 " *Dr. Thorne*, 360  
 " *Small House at Allington*, 361  
 " *Last Chronicles of Barse*, 391, 392  
 " *Golden Lion of Granpere*, 761  
 " *Phineas Finn*, 832-3  
 Trotter's *The Bayard of India*, 396  
 " *Hodson of Hodson's Horse*, 401  
 " *Warren Hastings*, 452  
 Turgenev's *Virgin Soil*, 523  
 " *Liza*, 677  
 " *Fathers and Sons*, 742  
 Tyndall's *Glaciers of the Alps*, 93  
 Tytler's *Principles of Translation*, 168  
 Vasari's *Lives of the Painters*, 784-7  
 Verne's (Jules) *Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Sea*, 319  
 " *Dropped from the Clouds*, 367  
 " *Abandoned*, 368  
 " *The Secret of the Island*, 369  
 " *Five Weeks in a Balloon, and Around the World in Eighty Days*, 779

- Virgil's *Æneid*, 161  
 " *Eclogues and Georgics*, 222  
 Voltaire's *Life of Charles XII*, 270  
 " *Age of Louis XIV*, 780  
 Wace and Layamon's *Arthurian Chronicles*, 578  
 Wakefield's *Letter from Sydney*, etc., 828  
 Walpole's *Letters*, 775  
 Walpole's (Hugh) *Mr. Perrin and Mr. Traill*, 918  
 Walton's *Compleat Angler*, 70  
 Waterton's *Wanderings in South America*, 772  
 Webster and Ford's *Selected Plays*, 899  
 Wells' *The Time Machine and The Wheels of Chance*, 915  
 Wesley's *Journal*, 105-108  
 White's *Selborne*, 48  
 Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, and *Democratic Vistas*, etc., 573  
 Whyte-Melville's *Gladiators*, 523  
 Wilde's *Plays, Prose Writings and Poems*, 858  
 Wood's (Mrs. Henry) *The Channings*, *Woolman's Journal*, etc., 402 [84]  
 Wordsworth's *Shorter Poems*, 203  
 " *Longer Poems*, 311  
 Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, 67  
 Yellow Book, 503  
 Yonge's *The Dove in the Eagle's Nest*, 329 [330]  
 " *The Book of Golden Deeds*,  
 " *The Heir of Redclyffe*, 362  
 " *The Little Duke*, 470  
 " *The Lances of Lynwood*, 579  
 Young's (Arthur) *Travels in France and Italy*, 720  
 Zola's *Germinal*, 897  
  
*Anthologies, Dictionaries, etc.:*  
 A Book of English Ballads, 572  
 A Book of Heroic Verse, 574  
 A Book of Nonsense, by Edward Lear, and Others, 806  
 A Century of Essays. An Anthology, 663  
 American Short Stories of the Nineteenth Century, 840  
 A New Book of Sense and Nonsense, 813  
 An Anthology of English Prose: From Bede to Stevenson, 675  
 An Encyclopædia of Gardening, by Walter P. Wright, 555  
 Ancient Hebrew Literature, 4 vols., 253-6  
 Anglo-Saxon Poetry, 794  
 Annals of Fairyland, 365, 366, 541  
 Anthology of British Historical Speeches and Orations, 714  
 Atlas of Classical Geography, 451  
 Atlases, Literary and Historical: Europe, 496; America, 553; Asia, 633; Africa and Australasia, 662  
 Dictionary, Biographical, of English Literature, 449  
 " Biographical, of Foreign Literature, 900  
 " of Dates, 554  
 " Everyman's English, 776  
 " of Non-Classical Mythology, 632  
 " Smaller Classical, 495  
 " of Quotations and Proverbs, 809-10  
 English Short Stories. An Anthology, 743  
 Fairy Gold, 157  
 Fairy Tales from the Arabian Nights, 249  
 French Short Stories, 896  
 Golden Book of Modern English Poetry, 921 [746]  
 Golden Treasury of Longer Poems, Minor Elizabethan Drama, 491, 492  
 Minor Poets of the Eighteenth Century, 844  
 Minor Poets of the 17th Century, 873  
 Mother Goose, 473  
 Muses' Pageant, The, 581, 606, 671  
 New Golden Treasury, 695  
 New Testament, The, 93  
 Poetry Book for Boys and Girls, 894  
 Political Liberty, a Symposium, 745  
 Prayer Books of King Edward VI. 1st and 2nd, 448  
 Prelude to Poetry, 789  
 Reader's Guide to Everyman's Library, by R. Farquharson Sharp and E. Rhys, 889  
 Restoration Plays, 604  
 Russian Short Stories, 758  
 Shorter Novels: Elizabethan, 824  
 " Jacobean and Restoration, 841  
 " Eighteenth Century, Table Talk, 906 [856]  
 Tales of Detection, 928  
 Theology in the English Poets, 493  
 Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases, Roget's, 630, 631

NOTE—The following numbers are at present out of print:

89, 110, 111, 146, 227, 228, 244, 275, 315, 317, 346, 350, 390, 418, 432, 450, 480, 493, 540, 541, 565, 574, 597, 634, 641-52, 661, 664, 679

LONDON: J. M. DENT & SONS LTD.  
 NEW YORK: E. P. DUTTON & CO. INC.



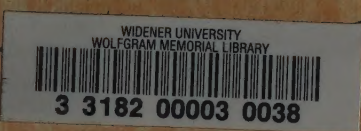


## Date Loaned

[illegible]

910.14  
H127  
v. 4

2629



DISCARDED  
WIDENER UNIVERSITY

